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# JPRS Report

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# Soviet Union

## *Political Affairs*

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# Soviet Union

## Political Affairs

JPRS-UPA-88-009

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## Komsomol CC Holds 2nd Plenum

### Mironenko Report

18000126a Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 8 Dec 87 pp 2-3

[Abridged version of report of V. Mironenko, secretary of the All-Union Komsomol Central Committee, in the 2d Plenum of the All-Union Komsomol Central Committee: "On the Progress of Restructuring in Komsomol and Development of Initiative of Komsomol Organizations in Solving the Socioeconomic Problems Facing the Country in the Context of the Radical Economic Reform"; full text of report will be published in a pamphlet by the publishing house Molodaya Gvardiya]

[Text] Comrades!

Almost 8 months have passed since the 22d All-Union Komsomol Congress.

In that time there have been two plenums of the CPSU Central Committee, a session of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and a ceremonial session devoted to the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. Each of these major political events has been a step along the road of revolutionary renewal of society outlined by the 27th party congress.

The attention paid by the world public to the changes taking place in our country is not slackening off. In various countries people associate with them the possibility of solving the problems humanity has come up against as the end of the millennium approaches, they associate with them the hope for a solid peace.

The meeting between M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and U.S. President R. Reagan is beginning. Its tasks and importance are well-known to us. We send wishes for the success of those negotiations.

The first stage of restructuring has now passed. The country has come to a new stage, "the heart of which, as noted by M.S. Gorbachev at the conference held in the headquarters of the CPSU Central Committee in November, is the line that incorporates two interrelated and interdependent aspects—further democratization of society and radical economic reform...."

Only by following the party, by taking an active part in the effort to renew all aspects of the life of society will Komsomol be able to solve those numerous problems which have accumulated in its own activity.

### The Tasks of the Plenum

The bureau of the All-Union Komsomol Central Committee has decided to put up for discussion by the 2d Plenum of the Central Committee the question of the

participation of Komsomol organizations in carrying out the radical economic reform. But first we must evaluate what has been done and discuss how restructuring has been going in Komsomol.

The revival of the Leninist conception of socialism, which is determining the essence of the period we are living through, confronts Komsomol with the task of meeting Lenin's requirements as to the content and form of activity of a communist youth organization. They were set forth in a speech by V.I. Lenin at the 3d Congress of the RKSM [Russian Communist Youth Alliance]. Not only have the cautions and advice of Vladimir Ilich not lost their importance, but under the new conditions they have even taken on a particularly topical ring. The cornerstone of Lenin's view of the tasks of Komsomol is the widely familiar idea that "only by working together with the workers and peasants is it possible to become real Communists."

This task is inseparable from the second task, which was set by the 22d Komsomol Congress: to achieve resolute democratization and debureaucratization of Komsomol activity.

### I. Results of the 20th All-Union Komsomol Congress and Its Importance

Do we possess a conception of restructuring of Komsomol's work?

We do have such a conception and understanding of the particular nature of the period we are living in. That conception was worked out by the 20th All-Union Komsomol Congress.

But people sometimes say that the congress offered nothing or offered very little.

In itself the difference in opinion, even a difference in discussing the results of the congress, is a new phenomenon for us, but one that is altogether normal.

What is bad is that many of the doubters have not read the materials of the congress, or if they have, they read it "crossways."

The 20th Komsomol Congress could not have and was not called upon to resolve the entire multitude of particular problems and issues.

To think like that is to go back to what we want to get away from—rigid centralism and overorganization.

### What Lay in the Power of the Congress?

The congress exposed the basic contradictions and problems that have built up in Komsomol. This was done in all frankness and rather fully in that stage.

Now we have a better view of many diseases in Komsomol and we have a better understanding of their causes. This has been aided by a thorough theoretical analysis of the processes taking place in our society and in its history. It was also promoted by the vigorous growth of economic, political, and historical knowledge, discussion in the press, and many other things.

Finally, it was also favored by the fact that we have in practical terms made progress along the road marked out by the Komsomol congress.

Today we understand the Komsomol stands on the very threshold of a most profound crisis in the confidence of young people, and we have a better knowledge of the reasons for this.

An organizational model has taken shape which has not accepted initiative from below, the opinions of the individual person, but has mainly operated on the basis of instructions from above. In that situation a partial divorce from life, from the interests of young men and women, was inevitable, and in some places the divorce was complete.

It is difficult to eradicate habits formed over decades. But progress has been made. Perhaps more slowly at present than we would have liked, but progress there has been. More and more young people with initiative are coming into Komsomol committees with their ideas and to offer support and help. This is one of the visible and most important results of the congress.

There is another thing we would mention. The congress was preceded by discussion. Thanks to the discussion it was able to identify the sore spot and find ways to solve the problems that have accumulated.

But let us recall that the discussion was characterized by a complete polarization of opinions and at times by an absence of civility in the exchange.

It was in that atmosphere that the congress was held. It confronted the task of providing an objective evaluation of the situation and of working out a realistic work program. The congress did cope with that task!

#### **Did the Komsomol Congress Propose a Strategy for Restructuring?**

The congress did propose such a strategy. Let us go back to the materials of the congress.

The main thing is to renounce the quite often farfetched schemes which have been sent down from above to all organizations and to concern ourselves with the particular person, with his interests and problems, with the concrete affairs in a concrete collective. Democratization is the main direction of perestroika. It must affect all aspects of the life of Komsomol.

This is in fact the dual task of restructuring in Komsomol. Participation in renewal of all aspects of the life of society. Above all in radical reform of the economy. Democratization of the life of the alliance, its practical transformation into a school for socialist self-management.

Those are the main results, and that is the importance of the 20th All-Union Komsomol Congress. But even the most wonderful plan and the most remarkable scheme will never yield anything unless they are filled with the practical experience of working in the new way.

And this is now the job not only of the delegates to the congress alone, not only of the All-Union Komsomol Central Committee and of its staff, but of our entire aktiv, of the entire youth alliance. The time has come to show that we are able not only to argue and make the right decisions, but also to be forceful, bold, and vigorous in action.

#### **II. Stepping up the Pace of Restructuring**

##### **What Has Been Done Since the 20th Komsomol Congress?**

The efforts of the staff of the All-Union Komsomol Central Committee have been aimed at changing the style of its work, at bringing the entire complicated mechanism for managing the life of an organization with membership in the millions into conformity with the requirements of the congress and the new version of the All-Union Komsomol Bylaws.

The All-Union Komsomol Central Committee has prepared and submitted the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers recommendations aimed at enhancing the role of Komsomol organizations in solving socioeconomic problems and in the reform of public education. Many of them have been taken into account in the documents of the party and government adopted recently. The draft of the USSR Law on Youth is now being prepared, and instructions of the All-Union Komsomol Central Committee are being rewritten.

Strategies have been worked out for developing All-Union Komsomol's material and technical base up to the year 2000 and for restructuring financial and economic activity; elements of cost accounting (khozraschet) will be introduced in Komsomol organizations, and their independence will be broadened in spending the resources enlisted and the dues of the members.

Members of the central elective bodies of All-Union Komsomol have become more active.

Albert Likhanov initiated creation of the board of the Soviet Children's Fund imeni V.I. Lenin and became its first chairman. Oleg Atkov, USSR pilot-cosmonaut, agreed with a number of other comrades to tackle the creation of an association of "Young Cosmonauts," and

Oleg Vorontsov and a group of young scientists agreed to develop the mechanism for carrying out the program "Commonwealth" with the youth alliances of the socialist countries.

Garri Kasparov helped to equip the computer club and has been actively supporting the effort of initiators of universal computer education. The worker Pavel Ratnikov, member of the Bureau of the All-Union Komsomol Central Committee, has been reworking the regulation on the KMK [Komsomol youth collective].

In Tajikistan and Murmansk, Dnepropetrovsk, and other oblasts it has become regular practice to discuss in advance all those recommended for elections in the lower levels of Komsomol organizations. In Minsk, Kaliningrad, and Smolensk Oblasts it has become widespread practice to nominate several candidates for election of Komsomol committee secretaries.

In Moscow they have given up structural subdivisions in raykoms, in the Leningrad Oblkom the entire staff is concentrated in three departments specializing in the priority directions of effort, in the Khabarovsk Kraykom a department for carrying out youth initiatives is working energetically. As a consequence the work of the staff has been brought closer to the needs of primary organizations.

In recent months there have been new radio and television programs popular with young people, and the central and many local youth publications have become more interesting, critical, and meaningful.

The Bureau of the All-Union Komsomol Central Committee feels that following the examples of party committees all the committees of Komsomol must hear the report from their bodies of leadership on what they have done to restructure the work of Komsomol and must themselves report to primary organizations on their own work. This might be done in the fall of next year.

#### On the Results of Reports and Elections in Komsomol Organizations

In many organizations there has been a noticeable improvement in the effort to reinforce and develop the early results of restructuring. It is notable that criticism for the sake of criticism has begun to give way to constructive criticism and self-criticism and demagogic to a principled and realistic evaluation of the state of affairs, to a search for practical ways of getting out of the slump. Social problems, problems of work and study, of taking part in management of the collective are already being posed on the same level with the leisure topics that previously were dominant.

At the same time, the report-and-election meetings, in Vologda, Zaporozhye, Kulyab, and a number of other oblasts in particular, have shown that in many organizations there has not been a serious discussion of the progress of restructuring.

Many Komsomol committees have demonstrated their inability to keep promises made during the precongress discussion, and that, of course, has had an impact on the mood of Komsomol members.

Now they need prompt and effective help. The newly elected aktiv has to be taught to work under the present conditions and to find ways of shaking up young people.

#### What Is Keeping Restructuring From Going Faster?

We have not been able to get the ideas of the 20th All-Union Komsomol Congress to be taken up by the broad masses of Komsomol members.

Responsibility for this is borne by the Bureau and Secretariat of the All-Union Komsomol Central Committee. It must be shared by many first secretaries of Komsomol central committees of union republics and kraykoms and obkoms.

Our central youth publications, above all the newspaper *Komsomolskaya Pravda* and the journals *Molodoy Kommunist* and *Komsomolskaya Zhizn*, must take a fuller, more thoughtful and purposive part in this effort.

Certain Komsomol central committees of union republics, kraykoms, obkoms, gorkoms, and the raykoms of Komsomol reduce the restructuring that has begun to merely reassigning people within the staff, and democratization is reduced to the formal aspect of the matter.

So far the contradiction has held firm between the increased activity of young people and the inability of staffs of many Komsomol committees, including the All-Union Komsomol Central Committee, and secretaries of primary organizations to tackle the job properly.

The secretaries and the departments of Komsomol bodies of the All-Union Komsomol Central Committee and local Komsomol personnel have not done everything to resolve that contradiction by any means.

Quite often in demanding broader rights the Komsomol committees are forgetting to use the rights they have already been granted.

For the first time in recent years the number of young people under age 30 elected deputies on the basis of results of elections to local soviets of people's deputies has dropped 39,000, including a drop of 36,000 in the number of Komsomol members elected.

Probably the strongest brake on restructuring in Komsomol are today the habits of millions of rank-and-file Komsomol members to look on passively and the unpreparedness of our personnel and aktiv to accept and understand the new thing which is being brought by life itself.

Within the actual staff of the All-Union Komsomol Central Committee there is still a great deal to be done so that the potential of every staff member is working for restructuring.

The word of the All-Union Komsomol Central Committee must also carry more weight in the drafting of plans for the country's socioeconomic development and in the taking of the most important decisions, above all on matters affecting the interests of a large number of Komsomol members. Such as, for example, the reform of education, social welfare programs, and other things.

In developing democracy within the alliance and in overcoming bureaucratic centralism, we also cannot allow the other extreme—organized laxity, a lack of respect for the bylaws, for the decisions of the Central Committee, and scheming.

This June the Bureau of the All-Union Komsomol Central Committee deemed it impossible for Comrade V. Ledyayev to remain further in the post of first secretary of the Irkutsk Oblast All-Union Komsomol Committee.

In violation of the bylaws and the decree of the Central Committee, at the initiative of Vadim Ledyayev the bureau of the Komsomol obkom adopted a decision in April which reduced the effort with dropouts to the formality of removing them from the rolls. In the course of a month gorkoms and raykoms essentially rid themselves of 700 members of All-Union Komsomol.

The former first secretary of the obkom was not well-served by the opinion widespread among Komsomol personnel and aktivists that the organization could be strengthened by weeding out from Komsomol all those who for various reasons have not been taking an active part in the life of the organization.

This is a profound mistake. First of all because as matters now stand in many organizations we will have to "purge" many people, and who will we be left with? Second, this is a straight road to turning a mass organization into the closed circle of the aktiv, toward a further if not definitive divorce from the masses of young people. Third, this "instrument" for treating the diseases of Komsomol has already been tried, it had grave consequences, and was condemned back in the twenties, when it was given the name "Dunayevshchina."

The danger of such attitudes must not be underestimated. The Bureau of the Central Committee feels that the plenum must resolutely condemn them. We must not

throw out people who, you will agree, have had good reason to lose faith in their organization, and you will not win back their confidence with words, but with deeds, by paying attention to their needs and interests.

#### What Do We Mean by Democratization in Komsomol?

First, we need to correct the bias toward centralism.

Second, full glasnost has to be achieved in the work of Komsomol committees at all levels.

Third and most difficult, all Komsomol personnel, the aktiv and rank-and-file Komsomol members must arrive at a clear understanding that there are no rights without duties. The more rights, the more duties, and the more responsibility.

The rights of the center must also not be infringed.

A directive from the center is a powerful instrument, but it has to be used intelligently.

What is to replace directives? In many cases they can be replaced by widespread dissemination of the practice of the best organizations, by more thorough preparation of personnel capable of acting independently.

The main efforts must be directed toward that. The attraction of Komsomol members and young people for what is new, their initiative in the context of democratization, provide thousands of examples of an innovative approach to the effort.

In an article entitled "The Great Deed" V.I. Lenin wrote in the first years of Soviet power: "We must study thoroughly the outcroppings of the new and be most attentive toward them, aiding their growth in every way and 'caring' for these weak shoots."

Now that restructuring is taking place in Komsomol, this conclusion of Lenin's has fundamental importance.

Remember the lightning speed with which "free microphones," elections from among several candidates, social initiative funds, and many other things made their way without decrees of any sort following their publication in *Komsomolskaya Pravda* or over television.

In restructuring the work of Komsomol we must rely firmly on scientific research into the problems of young people. A comprehensive program of scientific research of the most urgent issues raised by the life of young people and the practice of Komsomol work must unify the efforts of scientists of the Higher Komsomol School and Scientific Research Center and hundreds of researchers into the problems of upbringing in the country. If we organize things in that way, reality itself will result in creation of an institute for the problems of young people, which was discussed at the 20th All-Union Komsomol Congress.

### Komsomol Personnel

An assessment was made at the 20th All-Union Komsomol Congress of the questionnaire approach, of violations of the principles of the elective nature and accountability of offices, and of the greatly increased schedule of party appointments, privacy, and subjectivism in the promotion of personnel and aktivists.

Democratic standards in selection of personnel are now being established in many organizations. Komsomol members are themselves taking back the right to elect and monitor their leaders. This is probably the most important of the changes that have taken place in the last year.

Truly authoritative and resourceful people are more and more frequently moving into the leadership of Komsomol organizations.

We might take as an example the work of the Volzhsk City Komsomol Committee in Volgograd Oblast. The personnel of the gorkom have been able to gather around it a Komsomol aktiv, to attract people with initiative, and to go out to meet the interests of young people. A system of scientific-technical creativity is being introduced, a center for scientific-technical creativity of young people, the cooperative "Khozyayushka," and the middleman firm "Your Working Hands" have been set up on the principles of cost accounting, and more than 3,000 students have become involved in work in their free time with the help of the latter.

Unfortunately, there are not many such examples so far.

The number of Komsomol members who have withdrawn without being removed from the rolls is growing steadily. As of 1 October there were nearly 2 million of them, or 5 percent of the membership of All-Union Komsomol. In the Kirghiz and Moldavian republic organizations and the Guryev, Dzhambul, Tashkent, and Khakass oblast organizations 1 out of every 10 Komsomol members has dropped out without being removed from the rolls.

In the first 9 months of 1987 enrollment in Komsomol dropped off 35 percent, including a 60-percent drop for workers and a 53-percent drop for kolkhoz members. In practically all republics, krays, and oblasts there are rayon organizations in which not a single young worker has joined Komsomol during the entire present year.

Concern about shaping in young people a conscious need to be in the ranks of Komsomol has been and is a direct duty and obligation of all Komsomol central committees of the union republics, kraykoms, obkoms, okruzhkoms, gorkoms, and raykoms of Komsomol and of every primary organization.

Now that mechanisms for exerting pressure on primary organizations have been removed, this indicator of the prestige of the organization deserves confidence and attention. And, as you see, it indicates that it has not yet been restored by any means.

It is not enough to grant the primary organization the right to decide the most important questions in the life of Komsomol; they have to learn to exercise those rights and to be responsible for their actions.

There is one particular expectation of the Komsomol worker, a qualification that I would say is very particular. Not everyone can qualify, it is not an easy matter to live "where everyone can see," not everyone has the strength.

Nor does everyone have the personal conviction and sometimes even just responsibility. Komsomol personnel with some longevity may recall more than one plenum of the All-Union Komsomol Central Committee in which the problems of the campaign against drunkenness were sharply drawn. Over a period of 2 years 47 personnel of raykoms, gorkoms, obkoms, kraykoms, and Komsomol central committees of the union republics and editors of youth newspapers have been discharged for drunkenness. Nor were members of the All-Union Komsomol Central Committee an exception here. Aleksandr Mikheykin, brigade leader of a timbering operation and member of the All-Union Komsomol Central Committee, was arrested for driving while intoxicated.

Or take another question. Even after the congress we have had quite a few examples of displays of nationalistic attitudes among young people, of "God-seeking," of blind worship of ersatz spiritual values of mass culture, and indeed even of outright groveling before the West including among people who belong to All-Union Komsomol.

In such cases not all Komsomol personnel nor the aktiv have proven ready to fight these phenomena not from the speaker's platform of plenums and assemblies, but in the midst of young people. We all have to learn discussion, to learn to defend our ideals and our socialist way of life.

The Komsomol worker must personify those ideals which he proclaims. If someone does not feel the strength to do that, it is better for him to leave and open up the way to people capable of attracting others not so much with words as with deeds and their example.

We often talk about the duties of Komsomol personnel. But something should also be said about the direct duty of the high-level Komsomol committees—to support and if necessary defend personnel and aktivists who show initiative, who have come up against the failure to understand the problems of bringing up young people, the reluctance to "remove the trash from the hut," who

have not been willing to compromise, and who have been placing the interests of the cause and the interests of young people above all else.

Of course, we cannot guarantee anyone "safe conduct." But people at the local level must be persuaded that if they are right and support the cause, they will obtain understanding in the Central Committee, support, and if need be even protection.

The members of the central elective bodies of All-Union Komsomol, the first secretaries of the Komsomol central committees of the union republics, kraykoms, and obkoms must display an example of firmness in defending the interests of young people.

#### On the So-Called "Informal Associations" of Young People

There are quite a few conversations taking place at present about the nature and character of this phenomenon.

The associations that have come into being are, of course, not all alike. They include some which Komsomol will be fighting without compromise. But they do not determine the face of the independent youth movement.

Associations of young people based on interest have never been any alternative or competition to Komsomol anywhere except in the inflamed imagination of people who assert this.

The fact that people are recorded as members of All-Union Komsomol where they work or go to school does not deprive them of the right to pursue their personal interests and inclination in any association or public organization if their activity does not contradict the All-Union Komsomol Bylaws.

That is why the departments of the All-Union Komsomol Central Committee, Komsomol committees, and the youth media should support in every way socially significant initiative of young people.

In speaking about the independent associations of young people, we cannot but dwell on the question of why the initiative of young men and women is not being realized within existing public organizations and voluntary societies which number more than 100 in the country?

It evidently makes sense to recall that a decree of the CPSU Central Committee was adopted on the basis of the results of the Komsomol congress which explicitly stated that many party and soviet bodies and public organizations are standing aloof from work with young people, are taking little advantage of their energy and initiative in renewing all aspects of the life of society.

The first secretaries and committee secretaries of Komsomol who represent it, and that also implies that they represent young people, in party committees, in soviets of people's deputies, and in other public institutions are responsible for the fact that the demands of the CPSU Central Committee on strengthening party leadership of Komsomol and the attention paid to young people by soviets, economic authorities, trade unions, and other public organizations are, to state it plainly, being met poorly.

The first stage of restructuring in Komsomol is coming to an end. The uniqueness of the new stage lies in the fact that while criticism, the effort to clean up and remove bottlenecks, and attention to denial of the old should not diminish, it needs to be replaced more boldly by the new that is generated every day in every city and village by life itself, by the creativity of young people.

#### III. More Active Participation in Solving Economic and Social Problems

Comrades!

Young people today represent a third of the work force in the economy, 1 out of every 5 specialists or production supervisor, and they also include 120,000 of the country's scientists. Young people represent the predominant source of manpower for the economy. In work collectives there are now about 368,000 primary Komsomol organizations.

The essence of the transitional period the country is going through lies in the struggle of the new against the old, of all that is progressive against what is outdated and conservative. Innovation, the dynamism of young people, their freedom from old stereotypes and habits, are important here as never before.

Another essential point is the place of young people and Komsomol in the processes of the deepening of democracy and the development of self-management principles of socialism, in production as elsewhere.

Of course, the tasks facing Komsomol in the economy are complicated and diverse. It is important today to be thoroughly aware of the purpose and depth of the aims of restructuring the economy outlined by the July (1987) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee. It is based on the transition from administrative to predominantly economic methods of management, its democratization, and invigoration of the human factor in every way.

The main thing for Komsomol in the new system of management is that new opportunities are appearing for initiative, independence, and responsibility of work collectives and their Komsomol organizations.

This requires, first, that the cost-accounting independence of collectives be strengthened by the social initiative of young people. Second, that the new economic

thinking be actively asserted, that all Komsomol members master both the ABC's and the higher mathematics of the reform. Third, the participation of young people in speeding up scientific-technical progress and in modernizing the economy must be made effective. Fourth, the real prestige of creative, intensive, and competent work must be established. Fifth, the progress of restructuring in Komsomol and the reform of management must be constantly analyzed, the difficulties and oversights spotted, and the problems that arise resolved with initiative.

#### **The Komsomol Organization Under the New Conditions of Economic Activity**

The Law on the State Enterprise (Association) takes effect in a month. Young people can be drawn into taking part in the evolution and establishment of the new economic mechanism only by means of forms of work which guarantee organic unification of the interests of the entire nation, the collective, and the individual. It has to be openly acknowledged that here there are no ready-made formulas. There is the energetic nature of young people, there are specific conditions and specific collectives. All of this has to be taken into account as the point of departure. But there are also problems common to all organizations.

Work is the basis of man's material and moral position in a socialist society. K. Marx wrote: "Society will never be able to get into balance until it stops revolving around the sun of labor."

Komsomol organizations must shape in young people the sense that they are the masters of production. The proper penalties must be imposed on those young people who do poor work and produce rejects. Leveling cannot be permitted; it is corrupting. If there is to be more socialism, observance of its basic principle needs to be guaranteed—"from each according to his abilities, to each according to his labor."

At the same time, there is a need to come to the firm defense of the social security of young people. Komsomol committees and primary organizations must wage battle against the "narrow production attitude," which is essentially a consumer attitude, toward young people, against a one-sided view of the three-dimensional term "the human factor." In the opinion of the Central Committee, the truth that the economy and upbringing are dialectically interrelated and that attempts to give preference to one over the other inflicts serious harm on the cause has been very slow to reach some managers in the economy.

#### **What Possibilities Does the Komsomol Organization Have To Take Part in Management of the Work Collective?**

One of the ways is the vigorous effort of representatives of Komsomol in the councils of work collectives. The main thing is for really the best and most resourceful young people to be advanced into the council. It must be

made a rule that not a single major management decision affecting the interests of young people is to be taken without appreciation of the opinion of the Komsomol committee.

The voice of young people must also be heard when collective agreements are being drafted. Right now, during the drive to conclude agreements, every primary organization needs to work out specific proposals that give maximum consideration to the real problems and interests of young people. The mechanism for inclusion of these proposals in collective agreements was set forth in the recommendations which participants in the plenum have received. And, of course, the most indispensable thing is to follow up on implementation of the proposals.

Support should be given in work collectives for creation of youth funds as a part of the fund for social development of the enterprise that is deliberately turned over to the disposition of the Komsomol organization and is created in order to meet the social and cultural demands of young men and women and to speed up evolution of the new addition to the labor force. As has been done by economic managers, for example, at VAZ, the "Penzat-yazhpromarmatura" Plant, and a number of other enterprises.

An understanding of this is being confirmed today not only at individual enterprises, but even in entire sectors. Jointly with ministries, central trade union committees of transportation workers and fish industry workers we have begun an experiment to broaden the real powers of primary organizations. The Komsomol initiative and exploration are being backed up with the interested support of economic managers. Once again we are grateful for the support shown us by the ministers Leonid Vasilyevich Bagrov, Aleksandr Nikitovich Volkov, Yuriy Mikhaylovich Volmer, Nikolay Semenovich Konarev, Nikolay Isaakovich Kotlyar, and Yuriy Sergeyevich Sukhin. We hope that such steps, imbued with an understanding for the problems of young people, will also be taken by other ministries.

The party has set the paramount task of shaping new economic thinking and of developing a new economic culture. It is a matter of young people acquiring knowledge about cost accounting, self-support, and self-financing—according to the results of a poll 90 percent of young people today have a confused idea about this. And it is a question of this knowledge becoming the pivot of the work activity and economic activity of every collective, brigade, and link.

It is evident that young economists should also make a large contribution to this effort. We are still waiting for books to be written in a language accessible to young people and lively newspaper articles on economic topics and interesting television programs.

The working group under the direction of Pavel Ratnikov, member of the Bureau of the All-Union Komsomol Central Committee, has prepared the draft of the new regulation. It provides for a substantial expansion of the rights of youth collectives and of young people in self-management, creation of KMK's above all in the decisive sections of production, for applying new equipment and processes, and for actively converting them to real cost accounting.

An analysis made on the eve of the plenum shows that in Mordovian and Tuva ASSR's and Smolensk and Yaroslavl Oblasts the number of youth collectives using the brigade contract and cost accounting has dropped off. In the country as a whole one out of every five youth collectives that has decided to operate in the new way has not received support either from the management or from Komsomol committees.

Cost-accounting brigades, which are interested in the most experienced and qualified workers, can begin, and in some places have already begun, to push young people out to the edge of production, so that they become auxiliary workers. In this situation the Komsomol youth collective can take on particular importance as a connecting link between the vocational and technical school and cost-accounting brigade. Thought must be given to how the best workers of long standing can be attracted into these collectives.

Komsomol committees should pay particular attention to work guarantees and guaranteed employment of young people as enterprises make the transition to full cost accounting and self-financing. They must take an active part in the evolution of the state system of vocational guidance, retraining, and job placement.

Young people have a desire to work on new and up-to-date equipment. Forty percent of the operations are heavy physical work that has not been mechanized. There is only one strategy here: to speed up reconstruction and modernization of production operations.

In enlisting young people in this effort use has to be made of special-purpose competitions, agreements on scientific-technical cooperation, creative associations, and the drafting of specific assignments for young collectives. Support should be given to the experiment of the participation of Komsomol organizations of Leningrad Oblast in carrying out the "Intensification-90" programs and the initiative of the Komsomol committee of the Magnitogorsk Metallurgical Combine. They have created 12 mixed contract youth brigades which work on reconstruction projects in their free time.

It is also indispensable to disseminate the practice of performance of other direct-labor projects by youth detachments on a contract basis.

While the interests of young people are to be protected, it is, of course, necessary to oppose consumerism and the desire to get something for nothing. The habit needs to be instilled of doing fine work and of doing everything conscientiously.

#### How Is the Role of Komsomol Organizations in Acceleration of Scientific-Technical Progress To Be Enhanced?

Participation in acceleration of scientific-technical progress was referred to as the main direction in Komsomol's activity by the 20th All-Union Komsomol Congress.

What industrialization was for the young people of the thirties, what the virgin land was for the generation of the fifties, that is what the fight for up-to-date knowledge is for our generation; scientific-technical progress must become a vital matter.

First of all, more effective use must be made of the public-state NTTM [scientific-technical creativity of young people] system. It has taken the first steps. Coordinating councils have been formed in a majority of union republics, krays, and oblasts. There are more than 60 city and rayon NTTM centers in operation. They are doing projects under contract with enterprises and organizations worth more than 10 million rubles.

But the introduction of new approaches to organizing the scientific-technical creativity of young people is going slowly. In Estonia, for example, normative documents and NTTM have not even been sent to Komsomol committees. That is why the opinion is spreading among the young people of the republic that this system is not necessary at all. However strange it might seem, the Secretariat of the Estonian Komsomol Central Committee also takes this position.

They have been rocking back and forth for a long time in Kazakhstan, Turkmenia, Bashkiria, Krasnoyarsk, Krasnodar, and Maritime Krays, and Penza, Voronezh, and Kirov Oblasts. The effort to develop NTTM in rural areas is actually at a standstill.

The basis exists for development of the NTTM system; all that is needed is initiative, smooth interaction with local soviet and economic authorities. The normative base is in need of further improvement. You have an opportunity to examine the draft versions of documents and to express their comments. The essence of the changes being proposed lies in elimination of excessive rule-making and expansion of the rights of local organizations in setting up NTTM centers. Rayon and city centers are being granted broad independence in establishing their structure and staff, in spending their own resources, and in building their experimental facility. These proposals have been supported as a whole by the

Presidium of the All-Union Coordinating Council for NTTM, and if they receive your approval, then they will take effect as of January 1988.

The problem of the reproduction and rejuvenation of scientific personnel was raised at the 20th congress. Most Komsomol committees and councils of young scientists and specialists, if they have been involved in anything, have only taken part in certification of young engineers, technicians, and scientists. But this is only half of the job and not the only way of solving the problems. It is our task to come to the defense and advance extraordinary and able people, to support and encourage scientific exploration, and to fight for application of bold and unorthodox ideas and solutions.

We also expect more vigor, purposiveness, and creative restlessness from young scientists and specialists themselves.

There is the greatest need for renewal of agricultural science with fresh energies. There has been a drop in the prestige of the scientists in the field of agronomy and the selectionist; the shortage of personnel has become more noticeable, and there are no young doctors of sciences. Now the All-Union Komsomol Central Committee has joined VASKhNIL and USSR Gosagroprom in undertaking the creation of specialized boarding schools for the major scientific subdivisions of the APK and in working on the question of sending young scientists and specialists to study and go through training programs abroad. The experience of our friends needs to be used more effectively in our plans. In the GDR, for example, a system has been developed and is being successfully applied for training and advancement of the young generation of scientists.

#### On Universal Computer Training

The task set by the 20th All-Union Komsomol Congress—of achieving computer literacy of young men and women—has extremely great importance.

A number of Komsomol committees have been able to find effective forms in the effort to carry out the program adopted. They include computer classes, schools for "young programmers," and competitions for the best computer program. Television and many of the mass media for young people have found their place in popularizing the subject and in correspondence study. But this is clearly not enough to perform a task of this magnitude.

Attention should obviously be paid to the experience of Komsomol in Dimitrov, where the initiative of young people to take over the organizational effort of computerization was backed up by decisions of the state. In Bulgaria "computer" clubs have a ramified structure operating on a single and standard basis; this structure brings together the efforts of authorities in the economy and science as well as public authorities.

We have also undertaken to set up computer clubs. The cost-accounting center for computer creativity "Yunost" at the USSR Exhibition of Achievements of the National Economy is beginning to coordinate their activity.

The All-Union Komsomol Central Committee is now making an effort to create its own enterprise in Moscow that would develop, reproduce, and sell software for school informatics, general everyday purposes, and entertainment. But the situation is such that there is virtually nothing on which to use such programs. There is an acute shortage of teaching and personal computers. Why does the State Committee for Computers and Informatics not follow the example of Minelektronprom, which turned over to the All-Union Komsomol Central Committee a portion of the funds for video equipment for distribution within Komsomol organizations? This step would be in the interest of young people and the tasks of achieving large-scale computer literacy.

Along with the computer center, there is promise in setting up other new all-union clubs for adolescents associated with the All-Union Komsomol Central Committee and the editorial offices of a number of central newspapers. It has been proposed that some clubs be made subordinate to interested ministries and departments: the cosmonaut club under Minavioprom and Goskosmos, the club for young mariners under Minmorflot, Minrechflot, the club for geologists under USSR Mingeologiya. We are convinced that in time the entire multitude of such associations will build up into a reliably operating mechanism that helps the school in discovering and developing young talents and in creating the conditions necessary for realizing their creative abilities, choosing a profession and preparing for it.

#### How Are Secondary School Students To Be Prepared for the Workplace?

The desire of the leading teachers of many generations to unify study and productive work has still not been theoretically substantiated under the new conditions and is not being carried out in practice. The preparation of students for the workplace using the facilities of teaching-production combines and enterprises is not related to a real need for personnel nor to the interests of the adolescents themselves; only 14 percent of the children choose a specialist according to the kind of work training they did. The work of students is in need of material and organizational support.

After the 20th congress the All-Union Komsomol Central Committee joined interested ministries and departments in adopting documents on organization of work and recreation camps for secondary students, work detachments of schoolchildren at enterprises in the economy, and "reserve" detachments of vocational and technical schools. Proposals were made to policy-making bodies that they amend current legislation on labor in order to bring adolescents into social production at an earlier date.

The up-to-date school needs to be converted from the status of tutelage to the position of an equal partner with the enterprises it is associated with. Take only the "Kirovets" School Plant, which was created using the facilities of the Ufa Production Association imeni S.M. Kirov. There the adolescents have been making instruments and equipment for telephone switchboards worth more than 100,000 rubles. The school does not receive resources it has been begging for, but resources that have been earned both for organizing meaningful leisure and also for building repair.

Without relieving ourselves of responsibility, we need to frankly acknowledge that everything that is new in organizing socially useful work of schoolchildren has been making its way with great difficulty. There is an obstacle in the clearly outdated instructions and conceptions of USSR Goskomtrud, USSR Minyust, USSR Minzdrav, and other organizations. The mechanism for planned regulation of these matters must be more flexible.

But training for the workplace must begin considerably earlier.

Good up-to-date toys are very necessary for this purpose. We have already spoken more than once about how primitive the products are which are offered by the shelves of "Child World" to future computer operators and those who will explore the galaxies. How can it be otherwise when at the Moscow "Olenok" Metal Toys Plant there is a tin printing machine built a year after serfdom was abolished in Russia—1862? The work of the Central Design Bureau for Toys is on approximately the same level.

Will the modern toys being developed make their appearance in the near future and in the necessary quantity? One can hardly count on it if we recall that the legislator of fashion in toys, USSR Minlegprom, is adjusting its authorizations and turning them over to the enterprises of local industry, which do not have any experience at all.

We are firmly convinced that the production of toys is an intersector problem. This kind of solution, for example, would be possible: to create a nationwide joint stock company to produce children's toys and games. The All-Union Komsomol Central Committee and the Central Board of the All-Union Production Association V.I. Lenin are willing to be its founders. We are proposing to the Soviet Children's Fund imeni V.I. Lenin, USSR Minpros, and other ministries that they become shareholders and together undertake to develop and manufacture up-to-date technical and electronic toys. We call upon the USSR Council of Ministers to take this proposal into account in deciding the question of the general scheme for management of USSR light industry.

#### On the Social Problems of Young People and Possibilities for Solving Them

The 20th All-Union Komsomol Congress turned Komsomol committees toward active participation in carrying out the party's social welfare policy.

But we cannot fail to see the serious problems that have accumulated in the sphere of social welfare. For years young families have been waiting for housing, for a place to be found in a day nursery for their child, and they spend their time looking for things which are scarce. The speculation, the black marketeering, and the fluttering of "nocturnal moths" around hotels are not harmless at all.

We can considerably augment Komsomol's contribution to solving social problems. Taking part in carrying out the social welfare program outlined by the 27th CPSU Congress, Komsomol committees must pay principal attention to three problems: food, housing, and consumer goods.

A unified social welfare policy toward young people is necessary in order to guarantee comprehensive and harmonious development of the personality. The social and economic problems of young people need to be given better appreciation in the state plan.

The main thing for Komsomol organizations in rural areas is to help young peasants to become true masters of the land. At present it is not every Komsomol organization that is able to back up the appeal for this with practical deeds.

The Komsomol committees of Belorussia, relying on the aid of party and economic authorities, have made the transition from observations concerning the lag of rural areas to deeds. They have strengthened construction brigades of kolkhozes and sovkhozes with young people. Wherever it was realistic they set up MZhK's [youth housing construction complex] and created groups for restoring dwellings that have stood empty. The efforts of university student detachments are directed toward social reorganization of rural areas. Every year from May to November there are hundreds of construction crews made up of young people from the cities and rayon centers. All of this has made it possible to overcome the lag of a majority of the 234 livestock-raising complexes they serve; two-thirds of them have undergone reconstruction, and comfortable rooms for the employees have been created everywhere. At present, 80 percent of the livestock-raising complexes in the republic are served by KMK's.

Measures and benefits aimed at keeping young people in rural areas are being drafted jointly with Goskomtrud and USSR Gosagroprom. Komsomol committees need to be bolder in applying the experience that has been gained in sending groups of young people to the farms in their area, including cultural workers, physicians, and teachers. The relevant decisions of Gosagroprom and

USSR Minvuz have already been taken at the initiative of the All-Union Komsomol Central Committee, and they are being drafted in the Ministry of Culture and USSR Goskomsport.

The participation of Komsomol organizations in the social development of lagging farms should be as specific and consistent as possible.

Komsomol organizations can make their contribution to solving the housing problem. Youth housing construction complexes are a realistic strategy. There are already more than 300 of them in the country.

The MZhK movement is alive and creative. It should take into account the changes taking place in real life. Some of the MZhK pioneers—from Sverdlovsk—have undertaken an interdepartmental experiment in combined organization of the leisure of neighborhood inhabitants. In Petrozavodsk they plan to create a reserve fund for war veterans and veterans of the workplace. And the MZhK of the city of Dobryanka in Perm Oblast has organized the rendering of services, has set up the manufacturing of consumer goods, and has created a subsidiary farm. Incidentally, this is also an additional source of self-financing.

The Komsomol central committees of the union republics and Komsomol kraykoms and obkoms must with the help of party authorities achieve adoption of regional programs for development of MZhK's and for appropriation of earmarked funds at enterprises.

The MZhK is not the only channel for solving the housing problem of young families, but it is an additional source. It is in need of additional materials. Why not organize a kind of "MZhK" plant on the second and third shifts at enterprises of the building products industry?

The experience that has been acquired is summarized in the new Regulation on the MZhK; it has been offered to your attention. But it is true that not a single document is able to completely cover its dynamic movement. We deem it possible to support the recommendation for holding an All-Union Conference of MZhK Organizers in 1988.

Every MZhK must have its own social program. The first All-Union Competition of MZhK Social Programs has yielded interesting examples; this could become a tradition.

Komsomol is to blame to no small degree for the fact that such spheres of the economy as the production of consumer goods, the trade sector, and the service sector have done little to take into account the demands of young people; that is, they have been ignoring more than a quarter of the country's inhabitants. Today the relative

share of products in the assortment for young people represents only 6-7 percent of the total output of light industry; and quite often their quality does not withstand any criticism at all.

It would seem clear to everyone at this point that the production of goods and the rendering of services for young people are indispensable. It is necessary to set up a mechanism at various levels for meeting the social requirements of young people and for doing this with their participation. Komsomol committees must be granted the right to set up on shares with state enterprises and public organizations joint teaching-production associations, industrial-trade associations, commercial associations, brokerage associations, and other associations for the production and sale of goods and to develop the service sector for young people. These are, of course, complicated matters. Dealing with them will take some of the time and, of course, support of the Bureau for Social Development of the USSR Council of Ministers.

But even now there are examples of how Komsomol committees are exercising their rights and authority to achieve progress here. In the Ukraine a republic wholesale-trade association known as "Youth Fashion" is being created. An extensive store complex for young people is being shaped, bringing together more than 100 stores. We need to note as a sign of the times that a number of vocational and technical schools are already in operation in Moscow, Arkhangelsk, Baku, Gorkiy, Kazan, Krasnoyarsk, and Riga after the example of the Lvov Teaching-Production Enterprise "Prestige."

Unfortunately, it is by no means every such Komsomol initiative that meets with an encouraging response. For example, the Murmansk Komsomol Obkom has not been able to find a common language with the oblast trade administration. A "Fashion" store was opened instead of "Goods for Young People," but the prices there are out of reach for young people even when they are getting the premium for working in the North.

The tendency to avoid inexpensive products for young people and sometimes even for children is getting stronger. Only 10 percent of young people can obtain young people's clothing with the money they have. The birth of the first child reduces the standard of living of the young urban family by approximately 30 percent. We have tied the young family around the neck of parents and continue to wonder where the dependency comes from. This is a problem that has to be solved.

#### On Cooperatives, Self-Employment, and the Family Contract

Most Komsomol committees have been waiting for instructions "from above" and have done nothing to analyze the problems of youth cooperatives and have been taking the position of outside observers during their creation and evolution.

Today in the plenum we have already mentioned the Komsomol committees of Estonia in critical terms. Yet in this area they have been able to make their way without additional directives and urging. Jointly with the republic council of ministers the Estonian Komsomol Central Committee decided to extend to Komsomol gorkoms and raykoms the right to create and subsidize the activity of youth cooperatives in nine fields of specialization.

Instead of supporting the family contract many Komsomol committees are continuing to talk about possible moral costs. Introduction of the contract is helping to invigorate production in remote and lagging areas of farms. The Komsomol organization is capable of putting neglected livestock-raising complexes in order and of restoring housing that has stood empty. The experience of bringing young families together in a cooperative to raise pork on the "Mir" Sovkhoz-Combine in Brest Oblast provides vivid and convincing evidence that joint farm management makes it possible both to increase output and to make time available for leisure and education.

Of course, self-employment and the new forms of collective work activity do raise a number of complicated problems as to upbringing. It is indispensable that young people employed in that sector of the economy retain the socialist value orientation and see the social purpose of their activity.

We think it is advisable to include in the draft of the Law "On Cooperation in the USSR" specific articles entitled "Cooperatives and Public Organizations" and "Cooperatives of Young People and Schoolchildren." We are ready to take part in this.

#### On Crash Construction Projects of Komsomol

Crash projects of Komsomol date from the same time as industrialization, they are memorable milestones in the history of All-Union Komsomol, indeed in many respects they represent its very history.

But since approximately the beginning of the sixties the participation of Komsomol in erecting the most important projects of the national economy began to be judged mainly in terms of gross indicators, the number of travel vouchers issued. As time has passed, the situation has been getting worse and worse.

This has been particularly striking in the case of the BAM. That area has been undergoing construction and development for 15 years now, but still ministries and departments are firmly oriented toward building primarily industrial projects there at the expense of solving vitally important problems. Many young people see no prospects in their vocational development. Taken together with the fact that everyday life is in a state of disorder, this creates a situation which cannot be termed otherwise than a lack of social commitment. Other acute

problems were also exposed during the election of the chief of staff of the Central Committee on the BAM. Nor is the state of affairs very different at other crash projects.

Speaking 2 years ago in a plenum of the All-Union Komsomol Central Committee, Vladimir Grigoryevich Chirskov, minister of construction of enterprises of petroleum and gas industry of the USSR, appealed to Komsomol to help in developing the projects of Western Siberia. Some 37,000 volunteers were sent there. But it turned out that the ministry had not made solid preparations to receive them and keep them there. There were not enough dormitories. In Novyy and Urengoy kindergartens were needed for 5,000 children, in Kogalym 3,000, in Nyagan 1,500. The schools are operating on three shifts. The construction project has already been abandoned by one out of every three people who arrive there on a Komsomol travel voucher.

Given the shortage of labor resources and the transition to intensive methods of conducting economic activity, this approach is outdated. Fundamental changes are needed.

We feel that the status of an all-union crash project should be given not to individual projects, but to regions that have the most importance to the economy. In the years immediately ahead these might be the areas of Siberia, the Far East, and the Nonchernozem RSFSR. Only then will Komsomol be able to exert due influence not only on furnishing labor resources to the construction sites, but also on their social and cultural physiognomy.

There are important new construction projects in all areas. In our opinion, the right thing would be for the Komsomol central committees of the union republics and Komsomol kraykoms and obkoms to independently, in agreement with local party and soviet authorities, designate which project might become a Komsomol crash project. Excessive centralization is now out-of-date.

A new regulation has been drafted on Komsomol crash construction projects, and you have the draft of it before you. It proposes conversion of the staff headquarters of such projects to the principles of self-financing. That means that creative youth collectives, public appeal centers, and NTTM's can be created in association with them, and MZhK's, amateur associations, and youth cooperatives can be organized. We would like to hear the opinion of members of the Central Committee on these proposals.

Attention should also be paid to the proposal for creating in local Komsomol committees staff headquarters of voluntary work associations of young people working on the principles of self-support.

Following the 20th congress the central staff headquarters of university student work detachments has been working to change their financial-economic mechanism. The essence lies in transferring to local staff headquarters and Komsomol committees the right to decide the principal questions of finance and staff size. A system of firm standard allowances is being introduced. Experiments have been conducted in the Ukraine republic and Moscow city detachments. In our opinion, the new approaches can be made the basis of operation even in 1988.

Comrades! It is not every kind of creativity that can be incorporated in a scheme or instruction. That gives importance to initiative that makes its own way.

And Aleksandr Kochegin, chief of the staff headquarters of All-Union Construction Project of the Bovanenko Gas Condensate Deposit on the Yamal Peninsula, has made an appeal to the All-Union Komsomol Central Committee. The essence of his proposal comes down to stabilizing and holding on to skilled labor resources when the natural and climatic conditions are difficult. Aleksandr has raised the question of the need to develop a new social technology for developing the North. It is an exceedingly interesting proposal. The system of scientific and experimental projects and development of the North are in need of radical restructuring.

We would like to support the proposals of veteran workers from the North and their young generation who have been participants in recent expeditions in the high latitudes, especially the Komsomol organization of the Arctic and Antarctic NII's in drawing up a long-range comprehensive program for scientific research and development of the North and the Arctic. The All-Union Komsomol Central Committee might be able to take a part in working out that program jointly with Goskogidromet, the USSR Academy of Sciences, and the USSR ministries of maritime fleet, civil aviation, geology, and health.

#### IV. On Behalf of Radical Changes in the Financial-Economic Activity of All-Union Komsomol

The decisions of the June (1987) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee serve as a program of action for Komsomol not only in all the spheres of the economy, but also in its own economic activity, which has its peculiar features because of the sociopolitical nature of our organization.

Over the last 20 years Komsomol's own economic operation has grown and become considerably more complicated: the value of fixed capital of All-Union Komsomol has increased fiftyfold and reached 615 million rubles, and taken together with Komsomol committees it encompasses the operation of more than 600 different independent enterprises, institutions, and organizations, including subdivisions of 12 sectoral configurations.

At the same time, the system for management of economic activity within Komsomol has undergone practically no change over the decade; and the problems of improving it have not been solved in a comprehensive way.

A scientifically sound conception has not been worked out to this day for development of Komsomol property.

There are unjustified defects. For example, if we take the individual budget items, most of the resources available are at present spent not to train Komsomol personnel, but to finance institutions doing that training, not to finance scientific development projects specifically requested by Komsomol authorities, but to finance scientific institutions. Substantial sums of Komsomol resources are "frozen" in the form of the remainder carried over to the next year.

A majority of republic, kray, and oblast organizations operate with subsidies from the budget of All-Union Komsomol. Those of them who get along without a subsidy have not been taking full advantage of the potential that exists and have not been motivated to increase their income, since the amounts of revenues exceeding expenditures are taken away for subsequent redistribution.

The centralized distribution of resources through the budget of All-Union Komsomol, which had its constructive role to play in a certain stage, today results in leveling and is tending to shape a dependent and consumerist attitude in certain Komsomol components.

The contradiction between the financial potential that exists and the need for the process of democratization of life within the alliance has become sharply aggravated. This contradiction has to be resolved above all in primary organizations, since that is where the principal revenues of the Komsomol budget are formed, but it is they which have been granted the fewest rights to use those resources.

Thus the state of affairs compels us to undertake without delay the development of an integral management system which will embrace all the structural entities and all aspects of management of the economic complex within Komsomol.

This requires, first, that the limits on the independence of Komsomol organizations be pushed outward, above all in the case of primary organizations and subdepartmental economic entities, and they must be made more accountable for expenditure of resources. Second, there needs to be a radical restructuring of management, excessive centralization must be done away with, and the efforts of the Central Committee concentrated on the strategic questions of developing the multisector economic complex.

By decision of the All-Union Komsomol Central Committee, certain elements of the new in economic activity are being worked out by experiment in a number of republic, kray, and oblast Komsomol organizations and tourist subdivisions. The Bureau of the All-Union Komsomol Central Committee deems it necessary to make a step-by-step transition of the economic activity of Komsomol organizations to normative methods of planning.

Three basic economic norms, rates determining revenues of the budget, transfers to superior bodies and to the fund for remuneration, must be the basis for planning the budgets of republic, kray, and oblast Komsomol organizations.

The other indicators of the budget and the standard rates indicated would be planned for lower-level organizations by the Komsomol central committees of the union republics and Komsomol kraykoms and obkoms independently, on the basis of recommendations as to methods, based on needs and the existing financial capabilities.

Calculations show that the conversion to the new economic conditions can be made if all sources of Komsomol money resources called for by the bylaws are concentrated at that level of the organizational structure where they are formed. Here it is indispensable that Komsomol organizations be granted the right to designate the purposes for expenditure of the money resources coming in, after deductions are made for the financing and measures of higher-level Komsomol bodies.

The decision of the committee or assembly of the primary organization must be final concerning expenditure of money resources left at its disposition; the results of an experiment with opening current accounts in some of them convince us that this approach is correct.

The new conditions being brought about in conformity with the decisions of the 20th All-Union Komsomol Congress will be conducive to introducing flexible management structures. It is advisable that the right to create staffs of personnel made available be transferred to the competence of Komsomol committees in agreement with local party authorities.

At the same time, we should note that in order to carry out the tasks called for by the bylaws there will have to be additional sources of revenues of the Komsomol budget that would correspond to the sociopolitical character of our organization. These might be youth funds at enterprises. We are also entitled to expect a large contribution to the budget of All-Union Komsomol from our publishing houses, the Association "Young Guard," from youth clubs, centers, and palaces, and from elsewhere. At the same time, we must not forget that the principal purpose of their activity must be to increase the effectiveness of their effort toward the upbringing of young people.

In addition, we need to develop the fundamental bases of financial and economic interaction of Komsomol with state and public organizations in solving problems we have in common, since quite often Komsomol authorities make sizable material and financial expenditures to solve problems that lie in the direct competence of authorities for culture and athletics, the DOSAAF, and the trade unions and creative unions.

The new approach to the economy of All-Union Komsomol will make it possible to place a substantial portion of the revenues they receive at the disposition of primary Komsomol organizations.

The restructuring of economic activity in Komsomol requires that normative acts now in effect be brought into conformity with the new requirements. During 1988 new instructions have to be prepared on expenditure of money resources; on bookkeeping in Komsomol okruzhkoms, gorkoms, and raykoms; on the records kept on money resources in primary organizations; and also a new version of the instruction on bookkeeping in the Komsomol central committees of union republics and Komsomol kraykoms and obkoms.

Pursuant to the Resolution of the 20th All-Union Komsomol Congress, there is a need to put order in the auditing system, placing principal emphasis on social monitoring "from below." It is being proposed that auditing commissions of Komsomol organizations be given a special role.

Enhancement of the role of auditing commissions will be favored by the new regulation on their activity which calls for creation of these structures in all Komsomol units, including primary organizations, and also that they have a permanent staff.

The transfer of broader rights to lower-level committees of Komsomol in the sphere of planning, financing, expenditure, and monitoring use of money resources requires that closer attention be paid to strengthening all the management links and above all that the appropriate subdivisions of Komsomol committees be staffed with qualified and competent personnel.

The Bureau of the All-Union Komsomol Central Committee feels that the new principles of economic activity should be introduced beginning even in 1988, first in the 15 or 20 republic, kray, and oblast organizations which are now ready for this, and then as the necessary conditions are created, they would be extended to other Komsomol organizations.

It would be advisable for the effort at comprehensive restructuring of the Komsomol economy to be headed by the financial-economic commission of the Komsomol Central Committee. The commission's first order of the

day would be to prepare the draft of the "Basic Principles for the Comprehensive Restructuring of Management of the Komsomol Economy," which after widespread discussion would be approved at one of the subsequent plenums of the All-Union Komsomol Central Committee.

In the light of the decisions of the 20th All-Union Komsomol Congress there must be substantial transformations in the way youth tourism is organized. It would be best to apply the principles of the Law on the State Enterprise (Association) to tourist centers and inns of the BMMT "Sputnik" and to convert to the normative basis the relations of the Bureau for International Youth Tourism with the budget of All-Union Komsomol. The system of pricing in youth tourism needs to be reevaluated without delay on the basis of the quality of services and the demand for them.

The logic of the new approaches to the Komsomol economy demands that the question of the foreign economic activity of All-Union Komsomol be placed on the agenda. First, it is a question of translating the program "Cooperation" to the plane of specific deeds. This presupposes above all establishment of direct relations among youth organizations of the fraternal countries, scientific centers, and brother-enterprises endeavoring to carry out long-range economic and scientific-technical programs of CEMA.

Second, there is now an urgent need for direct access to the foreign trading partner.

The opportunities for Komsomol to conquer new "territory" in foreign economic activity are related to the existence of partners who have shown a great interest in us. These are economic organizations of fraternal alliances and other youth organizations which have been our partners.

All-Union Komsomol possesses the necessary funds in the budget to begin this activity, and they should be released into circulation. They might be used for building the export potential of goods and services within the country as well as to make investments abroad.

Attention should be paid to the proposal for attracting organizations of the socialist and capitalist countries interested in collaborating with the BMMT "Sputnik" in creating joint enterprises, in building facilities for youth tourism in the USSR, with subsequent compensation of production costs by rendering tourist services.

What are the ways of organizing this activity, which is crucial and is largely new for Komsomol? At the present time, work is being done on the question of setting up in association with the All-Union Komsomol Central Committee an association that would have the right to conduct foreign economic relations on the basis of cost accounting and self-financing. If we do business astutely, we would have a new source of foreign exchange coming

in both to solve the problems within the alliance and also to expand the international contacts of All-Union Komsomol and the USSR Committee of Youth Organizations.

Comrades! The most urgent issues in the current stage of restructuring the operation of Komsomol and also proposals for enhancing its role in solving the problems facing the country under the conditions of radical restructuring of the economy have been presented for your consideration in the plenum.

The measures proposed have incorporated the practical experience not only of past years and the period since the congress, but also the historical experience of All-Union Komsomol. The main purpose of the transformations which have been outlined is to persistently overcome the inertness and stagnation in the ranks of All-Union Komsomol, to guarantee a revolutionary renewal of the content of the activity of Komsomol organizations, and to lead them to advanced areas of the struggle for restructuring and acceleration.

All of this places on us immense responsibility to the party and to the country's young generation.

We must cope with all the outstanding problems, and we must see that preparation for the 70th anniversary of Leninist Komsomol, which is coming up in the next year, is filled with strenuous and creative effort of all units of All-Union Komsomol, an effort that properly develops and augments the best traditions of the Communist Youth Alliance, which has been, is, and will be a reliable reserve and comrade-in-arms of the Leninist party.

#### Resolution on Restructuring

*18000126b Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 9 Dec 87 p 4*

[Resolution of the 2d Plenum of the All-Union Komsomol Central Committee: "On the Progress of Restructuring in Komsomol and Development of the Initiative of Komsomol Organizations in Performing the Socioeconomic Tasks Facing the Country in the Context of the Radical Economic Reform"]

[Text] The plenum of the All-Union Komsomol Central Committee notes that the results of the June and October (1987) Plenums of the CPSU Central Committee and the speech of M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, delivered in the meeting to commemorate the 70th anniversary of Great October have been received with approval by Komsomol members and young people and have strengthened their conviction of the rightness of the party course and their desire to take part in revolutionary renewal of Soviet society.

The time that has passed since the 20th All-Union Komsomol Congress has shown that an objective analysis was made of the basic contradictions that have

accumulated in Komsomol. This period has been characterized by a more wholesome development of the moral and psychological atmosphere in many Komsomol organizations and by a search for new approaches to the work with young people, by a greater contribution of young people to acceleration of the country's socioeconomic development. The first realistic steps have been taken to expand the activity of primary organizations and to establish glasnost. The practical effort of Komsomol organizations has confirmed the correctness of the strategies outlined for extricating Komsomol organizations from the state of inertia and stagnation.

At the same time, the process of renewal of Komsomol life is going slowly at present. The ideas of the congress have not yet captured the broad masses of Komsomol members. It is evident that many Komsomol personnel do not understand the conception of restructuring in Komsomol that has been adopted. Timid use is being made of the right of independent choice of forms and methods of performing the tasks that have been set. There is a persistent adherence to directive methods in leadership, a lack of enterprise and persistence in the effort of upbringing and organization, and in protecting the rights of young people. Conditions have not been created everywhere for development of the initiative and activity of young men and women and for full realization of their creative potential. Komsomol organizations have not become fully aware of the purpose and goal of restructuring of the economic mechanism, nor have they fully thought out actions to carry out the decisions of the June (1987) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee.

The Plenum of the All-Union Komsomol Central Committee hereby decrees as follows:

1. To follow the line of the 20th All-Union Komsomol Congress persistently and consistently toward comprehensive and thorough democratization of Komsomol life and toward enhancing the role of young people in acceleration of the country's socioeconomic development. To concentrate principal efforts on development of the initiative, activity, and spontaneous effort of primary organizations—the most important component for restructuring in Komsomol.

Komsomol committees are to make practical use of the right extended in the Bylaws of All-Union Komsomol to independently choose the forms and methods of work and to provide support to socially significant initiatives of young people.

To place at the center of activity of primary organizations the concrete young person, paying principal attention to shaping and satisfying his reasonable needs with appreciation for personal interests and the interests of society. Relying on the initial experience of restructuring in Komsomol and scientific research on youth problems, to enrich Komsomol work with new content.

To establish democratic principles in selection and assignment of Komsomol personnel, to prepare them for work under the new conditions, to teach them to solve practical problems, to consult with young people, to evaluate the situation fairly and in terms of principle, to offer resolute resistance to cases of conservatism, extremism, and other harmful manifestations in the youth world. To strengthen responsibility and accountability for the actual state of affairs in Komsomol organizations.

To support the proposal for holding in 1989 the All-Union Komsomol Conference on Problems of Restructuring in Komsomol.

2. Komsomol organizations must persistently and consistently prepare young people for living and working under conditions of the radical economic reform and for democratization of production relations.

To see that every young person is thoroughly aware of the nature of the revolutionary changes in the economy. To orient Komsomol political classes, all forms of training of Komsomol personnel and the aktiv and the youth mass media in that direction.

Komsomol committees are to master the skills of working in the context of cost accounting and self-financing, in close cooperation with the management and trade union organizations to create the necessary conditions for young men and women to improve their vocational skill and shape new economic thinking.

It is indispensable to learn to exercise the rights granted to Komsomol organizations by the USSR Law on the State Enterprise (Association) and to represent young people properly in the councils of work collectives. To see that not a single management decision concerning the interests of young men and women is adopted without taking into account their own opinion and the position of the Komsomol committee. When collective agreements and the plans for socioeconomic development of enterprises and institutions are being written, to make proposals to solve the problems of young people and to take an active part in carrying them out. The Bureau of the All-Union Komsomol Central Committee is hereby ordered to draft proposals to be included in the annual, 5-year, and long-range plans for the country's economic and social development.

Komsomol committees, astutely combining material and nonmaterial work incentives in the course of the economic reform, are to increase the work activity, productivity, and quality of workmanship of young people, to eliminate formalism and to achieve real rivalry in socialist competition. To take a broad and effective part in social monitoring of prices and the quality and assortment of products and in the movement for economy and thrift.

To encourage development of new forms of economic activity of young people at their principal place of work, to introduce the lease contract, to organize cost-accounting satellite production operations on the basis of fuller use of equipment, production waste, and secondary raw materials. To be the initiators in setting up youth cooperatives and to develop self-employment in free time from work or study.

3. It is a task of first importance to actively involve Komsomol members and young men and women in acceleration of scientific-technical progress.

To concentrate the efforts of Komsomol committees on closing the gap between the creative potential of young people and the real opportunities for realizing that potential. To increase the effectiveness of the effort of all units of the social-state system for scientific-technical creativity of young people and to expand the practice of holding exhibition-auctions of NTTM. To use the broad authority of the coordinating councils of NTTM for invigorating the activity of state authorities in developing the social-state system for scientific-technical creativity of young people. To develop amateur technical creativity, the movement of creative youth collectives, and to establish them in the priority fields of scientific-technical progress.

To improve the forms and methods of work to discover and develop young talents and to persistently see that able young people go into science. To fight for introduction of bold and progressive ideas and solutions. To invigorate efforts to guarantee the computer literacy of young men and women and to broaden the network of computer clubs and centers.

4. To fill with specific content the participation of Komsomol in carrying out the party's social welfare policy. To guarantee active participation of Komsomol organizations in carrying out the Food Program, plans for housing construction, for production of consumer goods, and for expanding the service sector.

To make efforts to shape stable work collectives and for social reorganization of economically weak kolkhozes and sovkhozes. To set the goal of converting Komsomol-youth collectives to full cost accounting and intensive technologies. To support the practice of disseminating the family contract, personal subsidiary farming projects of young families, and cooperative associations in the production of food and in rendering consumer services, trade services, and other social services to the rural population.

To develop and improve the movement of youth housing complexes, to achieve adoption of regional programs for development of MZhK's, the allocation of earmarked resources, including funds which young people themselves have earned. To support the practice of using MZhK's as facilities in conducting experiments on improvement of the socialist way of life. To draft social

welfare programs for every youth housing complex. Komsomol committees are to promote the growth of capacity of the construction industry and creation of "MZhKstroy" construction organizations. To hold the All-Union Conference of MZhK Organizers in 1988.

The Secretariat of the All-Union Komsomol Central Committee is hereby ordered to take part in drafting the social and legal foundations for increasing the effectiveness of the ecological movement.

To support the fundamental line of the Bureau of the All-Union Komsomol Central Committee toward creating a mechanism for fulfilling the social demand of young men and women for goods in the young people's assortment and for young people's services. It is deemed advisable for Komsomol authorities to take part on shares in creating joint organizations of "Youth Fashion" associations and centers together with state and public organizations.

5. Komsomol committees are to pay particular attention to the guarantees of work and employment of young people in the context of the transition of enterprises to full cost accounting and self-financing.

To take an active part in evolution of the state system of vocational guidance, retraining, and job placement. To achieve creation of youth funds at enterprises, their use for the purposes of social assistance and credit for young workers involved in restructuring and going through retraining.

To promote improvement of the vocational and economic training of secondary students, involving them in real production relations. Exercising the right of legislative initiative, to achieve adoption of legal enactments aimed at fuller satisfaction of the needs and interests of adolescents for work, enforcement of standards governing their work, and fair remuneration. To create staff headquarters of voluntary work associations of young people.

In keeping with the decisions of the 20th All-Union Komsomol Congress to reexamine the system of patronage of crash construction projects. Beginning in 1988 to declare the economic development of the regions of Siberia and the Far East and development of the Non-chernozem Zone of RSFSR All-Union Komsomol crash construction projects. For purposes of conversion of the social appeal of young people to voluntary principles to see to the preparation of the normative and legal base and procedure of mutual settlement with interested organizations. To draft programs for social development for each crash production project, to approve them for broad discussion in work collectives. To create staff headquarters of Komsomol crash construction projects on an elective basis. To grant them the necessary powers and to convert them to the principles of self-financing.

6. To undertake the development of an integral system for management of the financial and economic activity of All-Union Komsomol.

To define ways of further development of the material and financial base of Komsomol and the principles of economic interaction with state and public organizations.

To support the line of the Secretariat of the All-Union Komsomol Central Committee toward expansion of foreign economic activity and development of youth tourism.

To get away from excessive centralization and arbitrary methods of management, to concentrate the efforts of the All-Union Komsomol Central Committee above all on the strategic issues in development of the Komsomol economy. To create the economic conditions favoring enhancement of the activity of Komsomol organizations and to substantially broaden their rights in expenditure of money resources.

The Bureau of the All-Union Komsomol Central Committee is hereby ordered to take up the question of introducing as of 1 January 1988 new principles of financial and economic activity in a number of Komsomol republic, kray, and oblast organizations. To provide for further spread of the experiment as it undergoes improvement and the necessary conditions are created locally.

The 2d Plenum of the All-Union Komsomol Central Committee calls upon Komsomol members and young people to take the most active part in the further democratization of our society and in carrying out the radical economic reform.

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**Makhamov Reviews Preplenum Feedback, Own Performance**  
*18300116 Duzhanbe KOMMUNIST TADZHIKISTANA in Russian 23 Dec 87 pp 1,2*

[Speech by First Secretary K.M. Makhamov at the 8th Plenum of the Tajik CP Central Committee, date and place not given: "The Criteria for Perestroyka are Practical Matters"]

[Excerpts] Comrades!

The 8th Plenum of the Tajik Communist Party Central Committee is not an ordinary one. The Central Committee Buro, in preparing for it, decided to depart from the customary form for conducting such measures. For the first time the text of the report, that is, the accounting of the Central Committee Buro on the most important, key

direction—which today is the supervision of perestroika—was published in republic and oblast party newspapers in good time, more than three weeks prior to the plenum.

The goal was to provide an opportunity to all communists in the republic and to the very broadest circles of the public, to become familiar with this document. And not only become familiar with it, but also take an active part in discussing the activity of the Central Committee Buro on supervision of perestroika; to give one's estimate on the work that has been carried out; to express one's opinion on what has turned out right for us and what has not; to offer suggestions on how to speed up and delve more deeply into this matter; and to enlist sufficient forces for it.

In this approach we see primarily a strong and effective form of control, and an open and not-overly-organized dialogue with the masses, which allows us a better view of our bottlenecks, our unfinished work and our blunders.

In order to provide greater scope and time for such a dialogue, the date for holding the plenum was postponed.

Against this background I would like to call attention to the following feature. In the concluding section of the published report, evaluations were given on the activity of the members and candidates for membership in the Central Committee Buro. The evaluations were general and laconic and were based to a significant extent on the concept of saying something about everyone—about what is positive and negative in their work.

Today, when there is a vast amount of material in the form of letters, comments, and statements made over the telephone, we the members and candidate members of the Central Committee Buro have, in a manner of speaking, examined ourselves from the sidelines, through the eyes of those for whose sake we work. All this has provided fertile ground for reflection, and for practical conclusions with respect to our work methods and style; it has confronted us with the necessity to work out new approaches for the resolution of both current and future problems; and chiefly, it has confronted us with the necessity to take a more critical and demanding attitude toward the results of our own activity. We expect that the plenum participants will continue this dialogue in their own presentations.

Each of us places immeasurable value on the trust shown in us, and we understand that we must live up to it by means of energetic, creative work; by achieving high end results in all our affairs; and today—on our main front—in perestroika.

We shall be evaluated, Comrades, with respect to how well each of us lives up to this. It will be accepted as an obligation, according to party principles. We fully realize that the main criterion of our work is serving the people.

Permit me to dwell on certain results of the discussion of the report. It will undoubtedly assist in making the activity of the Central Committee Buro more purposeful and concrete, responding more fully to the tasks and to the revolutionary spirit of our times.

As of today more than 500 letters and comments have been received from the voting aktiv, from workers, kolkhoz members, engineering-technical workers, college and secondary school students, pensioners, and veterans of war and labor. Unfortunately, that is not many.

A brochure with materials on the discussion of the report was published especially for the Plenum, and has been distributed to the participants.

Many of the comrades believe that perestroyka is already providing definite results, and that in the course of perestroyka the prestige of the Tajik CP Central Committee has risen.

However it is noted that on the whole it is developing slowly, especially in the localities and in certain sectors. In particular, it is frankly stated in letters from Yavanskiy, Gissarskiy and Kulyabskiy Rayons, and others, that perestroyka has not yet reached them.

The same applies to trade, to municipal and transportation services, to health care, and to the construction complex in the republic. It may be that some of these evaluations are somewhat emotional and categorical, but nevertheless one must admit that they are not far removed from the actual state of affairs. They also should be examined, as criteria for the work of the Central Committee Buro, the party committees, local soviets, ministries and departments.

The responses of the members and candidate members of the Central Committee and the members of the audit commission of the republic party organization contain a number of proposals for improving the work style of the buro and secretariat of the Central Committee; for improving the organization of monitoring and checking the execution of adopted resolutions, improving work with the cadres, and on raising the prestige and role of members of the election organs, starting with Central Committee members. It has been proposed that they become more actively involved in preparations for party committee plenums, in working out resolutions, and in organizing their implementation.

Here is what Central Committee member Comrade A. Soliyeva writes in this regard: "I, for example, as a member of the Central Committee, have not yet had to take part in the preparation of issues for the plenums; therefore, I cannot take an active part in their work."

It has been proposed to make it the practice for Central Committee members and candidate members and members of the audit commission to deliver regular accounting reports on their contribution to implementing the resolutions of the Tajik CP Congresses and Central Committee Plenums before the working collectives, and to give them publicity in the press.

The suggestions received on this issue truly deserve the most serious attention at the level of the Central Committee as well as at the level of the party obkoms, gorkoms and raykoms. Obviously, there must be some kind of concrete program for working with the members of the electoral organs, directed toward more fully utilizing this great force.

Many letters and comments deal with the fact that the office-bureaucrat and administrative-command style of leadership has not yet been fully overcome. There are instances in which willful decisions, that do nothing to further the cause, are made without seeking the advice of specialists. Central Committee member Comrade D. Lafizov calls our attention to such a specific case.

"Members of the Central Committee Buro," writes K. Makhmudova, chief of the agricultural section on the Kolkhoz imeni Kuybyshev, and R. Noimov, foreman of the cotton-growing brigade on the Kolkhoz imeni Kalinin in Matchinskiy Rayon, "show little interest in the work of the lower party links. Officials of the Central Committee departments rarely visit the party raykom or the primary party organizations; and if they do visit, then it is only to look into complaints and statements."

"The Central Committee Buro," writes Central Committee member Comrade M.S. Tabarov, "shows little concern for the execution of its own instructions. There are still far to many oral and written inquiries, information, questionnaires, and telephone messages coming from its departments. Many decisions of a general nature are adopted and disseminated to the localities. This style is even more characteristic for the ministries and departments, and especially for Gosagroprom."

From all of this it follows that we must wage an even more stubborn struggle with the layers of bureaucracy and with paper-shuffling.

A significant portion of the comments are devoted to question of cadre work. The main thing on which to focus our attention here are the still frequently-encountered instances, in the author's opinion, of promoting people to supervisory positions in violation of Leninist principles of selection and allocation of cadres. Responsible officials are permitting such abuses to occur, particularly in trade and in administrative organs. All of this is, unfortunately, encountered quite often as yet in our lives, and requires more decisive and principled approaches and actions.

"Administrators react poorly to criticism," writes Comrade V.A. Yakovlev in his letter. "One eventually gets the impression that Central Committee secretaries, too, are not attributing proper significance to this, and are taking on the role of outside observer. It's not our nomenklatura, so it's OK."

Of course, the author feels that party committees should be given greater independence; but their activity must be directed toward this question as well. In our view, the question was stated altogether properly.

Criticism which is principled and honest, without protected zones and persons, is a most important asset in the struggle with negative phenomena and stagnation. It should be supported in every way. But this is not always being done. We are in possession of the facts, and this is addressed in the comments on the report as well, that at times criticism is ignored, or even worse, that people are persecuted for it. I, for one, managed to hear of this while meeting with the working collectives.

This question must be given a most serious place in the work of all party committees and primary party organizations. Everyone to whom the cause of perestroika is dear, who boldly speaks out against shortcomings and their perpetrators, must be provided reliable protection by society.

In a number of the comments, criticism of certain administrators, which was expressed in the report, was regarded as evidence of their inability for further work in the posts they occupy. Such a formulation of the question is irregular. Sharp and impartial criticism is a weapon in the struggle with inertia, sluggishness, and other shortcomings from which some of our administrators still suffer. We are obligated to encourage such criticism.

But by no means does this signify that if remarks on the shortcomings of this or that administrator are delivered from a high rostrum, that his fate is sealed, as was once the case in the past. It goes without saying that proper and objective conclusions should be made from criticism.

The following remarks by Comrade N.G. Savchenkov, must also be considered well-founded: that, "...the bureau, the secretaries and department of the Central Committee are not dealing satisfactorily with questions of atheist and international education; and with the struggle with the vestigial remnants of the past, which do great damage and retard the development of the republic. A great many resolutions are adopted in this regard, and comprehensive programs are worked out; but in the localities, in the work of the party raykoms and gorkoms, and the primary party organizations, formalism and paper-shuffling still predominate. Strict control and demandfulness toward these questions on the part of the Central Committee apparatus is lacking."

One would think that it would be useful to examine in the near future, how our comprehensive program on strengthening atheist and international education is being carried out. Sufficient time has elapsed since its adoption.

Among the general flow of letters and comments on the report, several dozen arrived without signatures, that is, anonymously. We must suppose that their authors cannot be considered fighters for perestroika, and there is no need to dwell on them, just as with such letters in which attempts are made to defend group or private selfish interests, or which contain wittingly spiteful and slanderous attacks.

And one thing more. In the majority of the letters they generally speak the truth about shortcomings in the Central Committee Buro. But unfortunately, even in letters from Central Committee members this is not always backed up with suggestions of specific measures on how to rapidly eliminate the shortcomings or step up the pace of perestroika.

We hope today that this gap will be filled in. Today, on behalf of all members and candidate members of the Central Committee Buro I would like to express my profound thanks and gratitude to all the comrades, communists and non-party members, who have responded to our request and have taken part in the discussion of the report from the Central Committee Buro.

All this will be studied in the most careful manner, summarized and utilized in our subsequent work. Incidentally, some things have already been considered in the draft resolution of the plenum.

Comrades! The reports of the party electoral organs on plenums and meetings in the primary party organizations are directly associated with the question under discussion today.

Plenums were held at all oblast party committees and at seven party gorkoms and raykoms, and nearly 500 meetings were held at primary party organizations. This is a kind of exam on perestroika, and is an important step in preparations for the 19th All-Union Party Conference.

Judging from the information coming into the Central Committee, in many instances communists are displaying great interest toward the accounting reports, and are taking an active part in the search for ways to solve the numerous complex problems which life poses today.

However very few have managed to escape over-organization, formalism, and attempts to paint a rosy picture of the situation, concealing miscalculations and blunders. Quite often criticism has been bland and indirect. Hardly anywhere was the question put directly—with regard to the capability of this or that administrator to

proceed with the matter in the future. Only in nine instances was the work of a party buro secretary acknowledged to be unsatisfactory.

It is unfortunate that in many party organizations and party committees the accounting reports on the supervision of perestroyka were replaced by reports on work in general, slanted toward current economic affairs, or were reduced to a dialogue about everything and about nothing.

And it was not by chance that the resolution was adopted about the suspension of party meetings with reports on perestroyka in the city of Dushanbe. The meetings of a number of primary party organizations were cancelled. Here the Dushanbe gorkom, the urban party raykoms, and the corresponding departments of the Central Committee are deserving of the severest reproach. I can confidently state that such situations can be seen not only in the capital of the republic.

Quite often very important questions have not been reflected in the work of party committee plenums.

For example, a number of comrades from the CPSU Central Committee paid us a visit. They were particularly interested in questions of the fulfillment in Kurgan-Tyube Oblast of the CPSU Central Committee resolution, "On Further Strengthening Socialist Legality and Law and Order, and Increasing the Protection of the Rights and Lawful Interests of the Citizens"; in preparations for wintering the cattle; in urgent measures for carrying out the Food Program; and they studied questions of the democratization of cadre work, and the transition of enterprises and organization to the new operating methods.

Serious neglect was uncovered—foot-dragging, inertia, and waiting for instructions from above. As a rule the oblast administrators are informed of all this. But, strange as it may seem, at the oblast committee plenums, these problems were not touched upon.

Comrades! On the whole the publishing of the Central Committee report and the subsequent broad discussion brought to light many of our shortcomings and blunders, and to a certain extent promoted the growth of the people's socio-political activeness. Everything possible must be done in order to continue this progress, and to continually give it new impetus.

But we must not lose sight of something else. Riding the wave of perestroyka is the scum of social demagoguery and carping criticism. People have appeared who consider themselves the sole spokesmen for the interests of the people and the bearers of truth in the last instance, especially on questions of national relations, culture, creative activity and so on.

The standard of discussion is low and polemical. Certain comrades have adopted an arrogant and disrespectful tone, and interpret the facts too wilfully or even falsely.

Some examples of this are the articles *The People are not Guilty*, and *The Union of Writers, Poste Restante*, published in the newspapers *TODZHIKISTONI SOVETI* and *KOMMUNIST TADZHIKISTANA* last October. Similar materials are encountered in oblast, as well as rayon newspapers.

People say that "There's no smoke without fire." And we have frequently seen, that in those places where the party organization does not pay proper attention to urgent problems in the workers' lives; where contact with the masses is poor; where the first signals of injustice committed by economic and party workers are ignored—that is where conflict situations spring up, which at times reach a state of great unpleasantness.

On the whole, we must obviously find measures to counteract any restraints on glasnost and democracy.

Today it seems necessary to dwell on certain urgent questions.

At present, as we are deeply occupied on a daily basis with issues of transition to total profit-and-loss accounting, it is becoming clear that we have not made sufficient preparations to work in the new manner. During meetings and talks with many economic, soviet, party and trade-union administrators, one sees right and left that they have only an extremely hazy idea of what working in conditions of self-support and self-financing is.

One gets the impression that they expect that someone will come to them and will do everything necessary. In many instances the economic administrators have shifted these concerns onto the shoulders of the planning and economic services. And after all, we all know that these services are rather poor among us.

At present good opportunities for strengthening these services are opening up by virtue of the skilled personnel released from their positions during the reorganization of the administrative apparatus. But the main thing is to sharply improve the organization of economic training for cadres of all categories. And this training must be specific and continuous.

We all must remember the fact that sooner or later the question will be put as follows: An enterprise which is incapable of operating the business at a profit is subject to reorganization and even liquidation.

As is well-known the general plan for administering the national economy envisages reducing the republic-level administrative apparatus by 50 percent and the oblast-level by 30 percent.

In connection with this, the administrators of ministries, departments, and local management organs must even now, without delay, take up the concern of rational job placement for the employees released.

Today it is fitting to speak also about an abnormal phenomenon which has been brought to light of late, and that is the unsatisfactory situation with respect to payment of membership dues at the republic party organization; that is, of the failure on the part of certain communists to carry out elementary mandatory regulations.

The failure of many communists to pay their dues on time; numerous instances of nonpayment out of total wages; failure to present them during the established accounting period; false accounting for them; covering up for debtors; and withholding the deposit of dues in savings banks, have become widespread phenomena.

In practice, this is taking place in most party organizations and party committees. By the last accounting date more than 900 communists had not paid their membership dues. Moreover, according to checks, this figure has been significantly understated.

It is difficult to find an explanation for the attempts by administrators of enterprises and secretaries of party organizations to conceal their actual wages. Communists held liable for such offenses only in exceptional cases.

Accountability for dues is in a state of neglect in many party committees. As a rule, no effective measures are taken to correct the situation. There can be only one conclusion here—that this sector of organizational-party work is not being attributed proper significance as a factor of increasing responsibility and strengthening the discipline of communists.

The Central Committee believes that the time has come to take a very strict look at such things, right down to the question of remaining within the party ranks, as the CPSU Regulations require.

Yet another important feature of internal party life must be considered. As is well-known, recently a certain amount of work has been carried out on developing the nomenklatura of the party committees, starting with the Central Committee. On the whole it has been reduced by 40 percent.

Today I will entertain suggestions as to the direction in which we should carry this matter further, with the goal of further democratization of cadre work, and ensuring extensive participation of the working collectives in the selection and assignment of cadres.

The first steps, along with positive results, have shown that elements of bureaucratism and formalism have already succeeded in penetrating here, as well. We have signals of the fact that in elections of supervisors only

one candidacy is put forth, and that candidacy is not submitted for preliminary discussion in the collective in a timely manner, and so on. Such instances have occurred in Kurgan-Tyube and other oblasts, and have nothing at all in common with democratization. Here we have glaring examples of incomplete work by the party committees.

And in conclusion, we must approve measures for improving party leadership of perestroika. Everything that has been outlined must be under constant, everyday effective supervision of the Buro and the Central Committee secretariat, from the very beginning.

Here there is still another bottleneck in our work. Therefore it seems expedient to organize an in-depth inspection of the course of carrying out a number of the most important, the principle resolution adopted since the April 1985 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, for the purpose of exposing that which is preventing us in many cases from bringing matters to a conclusion.

And now I consider it my duty to say just a few words about my own work.

As first secretary, I believe that my duties include the creation and support of a businesslike atmosphere in the work of the buro, and collegiality in the solution of problems. This, naturally, presupposes offering a great deal of independence to all the secretaries, to the members of the buro, and to the administration of the Council of Ministers and the ministries in solving the problems at hand.

After all, it is no secret that the previous administration was guided by sermonizing, dressing-down, and at times even by illicit methods and means. These times are past; we must work according to our conscience, and we must be able to answer for the matters entrusted to us.

But, apparently, not everyone understands this yet. The economic situation in the republic testifies to this. This year we failed to cope with the tasks for many positions. There are serious lags in capital construction, in particular. I understand that this is also due to my own great omission; no strict demands were made on the builders.

Apparently I also permitted a lapse in demandingness toward the members of the buro and the secretaries of the Central Committee. Today I must openly acknowledge this.

I believe that the buro, the secretaries and myself as first secretary of the Central Committee, must constantly be concerned that the prestige of the members of the Central Committee Buro, all the elected party organs, and all communists in the republic, must be brought up to the proper level.

When you visit party meetings in certain collectives it becomes painful when certain non-party comrades make rather unflattering references to communists. And you see sometimes there is basis for this. In addition to non-party members, communists commit offenses too, and that includes the leaders. Certain of them have resigned for becoming involved in abuses and even in criminal offenses. And this does not enhance the republican party organization.

Here I sense my own guilt; thus far we have done little work on this issue. In many localities the secretaries of the party organizations, and I have in mind industrial enterprises, kolkhozes, sovkhozes and institutions, appear to be supplemental supervisors, and forget that they are called upon to be the political leaders of the masses. We must strive to ensure that this is in fact provided.

We have until now displayed insufficient demandingness and adherence to principle in questions of preparations for the transition to working in the new manner as of 1 January 1988. This is a very complicated question. Unfortunately, we took it up only recently—in November and December—and we should have taken it up sooner. Now we must make up for our neglect.

We are faced with enormous difficulties, and we must overcome them together. To do this we must first of all change the style of our own work.

Among the additional responsibilities of the members and candidate members of the Central Committee Buro, I am charged with developing the construction facilities of the republic. I must say that nevertheless I am dissatisfied with my own work in this area; I was unable to achieve that which I planned, and our construction facilities are in a bad way. And if the plenum today entrusts us with further work, I will try to fill in this gap.

Comrades! We will be happy if, in discussing the given question, you speak out openly and in accordance with party principles; that you will introduce suggestions, and express your opinion on whether each of us, myself included, are worthy of our assignment and the position we occupy. We will be grateful to you.

09006

**Tajik Party Control Chief on Post-Congress 'Cleansing'**  
18300089 Dushanbe KOMMUNIST TADZHIKISTANA  
in Russian 20 Dec 87 p 2

[Interview with Z. M. Akhmedova, chairperson of the Party Control Commission at the Tajik CP CC, by L. Nikeshina: "Dictate of Conscience: A Conversation With the Chairperson of the Party Control Commission at the Tajik Communist Party Central Committee. Party Life: Cadres and Restructuring"; time and place not specified; first three paragraphs are KOMMUNIST TADZHIKISTANA introduction]

[Text] The anniversary of the January (1987) CPSU Central Committee Plenum is approaching. In the mail of the editorial board, there are quite a few letters in which the readers, talking about the painful, are once again turning to the materials of the Plenum and its decisions in regard to cadre policy. These decisions, more precisely their practical realization, cut off the oxygen to the demagogues, careerists, and all those who are used to saying one thing, doing another, and thinking—a third. It is no secret that the time of stagnation gave rise to a multitude of "Bonapartists" and "weather-vanes", who, by "the interests of the cause" explained the disregard for many basic principles of the Soviet way of life, including one of the main ones—respect for the individual. And the point is not only that degenerates enriched themselves at the expense of the state, as much as the fact that through their actions they discredited authority and the very idea of the building of a just society. The lowering of human dignity during the years of stagnation became a rather frequent phenomenon.

After the January Central Committee Plenum the cleansing work within the party became more active. Many party organizations resolutely freed themselves of degenerates, of people who have discredited the calling of communist.

Almost a year has passed. What changes has it brought? Here is the question of one of the readers of the paper: "Is it possible to determine the correlation of the stagnation phenomena and progress in percent? The Communist Party of Tajikistan presently numbers 124,000 members. But are all of them genuine communists? What is the correlation of forces?" There are many similar letters. As a rule, their authors are the people of the first restructuring wave, those who gained some experience and became convinced that the wall of sluggishness is rather durable.

[Answer] If we talk about the process of cleansing, it began after the 27th CPSU Congress and, I believe, it has not decreased. I will not undertake to express the correlation of forces arithmetically. There is no such statistic. What is more, does it have any meaning? Society and party organizations are in take-off. Restructuring has acquired an irreversible character. People are growing together with it. The process of renewal itself is the touchstone by which every communist and the correctness of his actions is verified.

[Question] In 1957, after the 20th Party Congress, Yevgeniy Yevtushenko spoke about a similar situation in a poem. It was published not long ago: "There is strength in the word of the minority." And still we know: At that time the majority prevailed.

[Answer] Here you are talking about people who have gotten some experience and at once have inquired about the percentages. They must understand: A serious struggle is under way. Stagnant situations were frequently brought about by the interests of a minority that saw eye

to eye. The republic's communists have succeeded in breaking this trend. Immediately after the congress, the Organizational Party Work Department and the Party Control Commission at the Tajik CP Central Committee conducted an audit of the state of the work with communists who had received penalties. Your newspaper has reported on the results of one of them—in the Nurek City Party Organization. Analogous audits were conducted in other obkoms, gorkoms and raykoms as well.

[Question] Does this mean that the initiative of the cleansing work and the example of exactingness came from the Central Committee? Could you not do without pressure and directive here?

[Answer] The Central Committee began this work. We thoroughly audited one organization, worked out general criteria, and developed the methodology, in accordance with which all party organizations were required to work. Subsequently many party organizations conducted an audit independently, they themselves analyzed the state of affairs with cadres. Such an initiative was demonstrated by the raykoms of Leninabad Oblast and the city of Dushanbe.

It is worthwhile to note the Zheleznodorzhnyy Raykom of the capital. Perhaps this is the only raykom thus far where the audit passed without a single reprimand. All the work was carried out independently, efficiently, and, what most importantly, in accordance with principles and without deviations from the requirements of the CPSU Statute. But there were also those who had to be urged on and induced to adhere to principles and to courage.

What has been said applies to a greater extent to the Kulyab Oblast Party Organization. Here at times they manifested liberalism in relation to certain communists who were at fault. As a result, there was not a decrease, but an increase in the number of misdemeanors and violations being committed by communists. This is the direct result of the minimized demand on communists for the observance of the CPSU Statute and the norms of party life, the low level of criticism and self-criticism in primary party organizations.

[Question] Who are these certain communists and what aspects of their "activity" were mildly assessed?

[Answer] At the time of the audit in Kulyab Oblast, practically all communists who had criminal proceedings instituted against them, but who were released on bail or freed by amnesty, were left in the party. The following party members escaped with a mild scare: The manager of the warehouse of the children's home K. Dzhurayev, the store manager K. Yusupov, and the school's director of studies, B. Pirnazarov. As you see—all administrators. In all during 2.5 years in the oblast, dozens of communists had criminal proceedings instituted against them, the majority of them—managers of various ranks, and almost half of them remained in the ranks of the CPSU.

The most characteristic violations were misappropriations, violations of financial discipline, and the use of official position for mercenary purposes. It is namely managers who constituted half of those called to account by the party in Leninskiy Rayon as well.

The following trend is observed: The higher the rank of the manager, the more lenient the party committee is to his "weaknesses." There are cases when local soviets take up the defense of deputies, including managers who are communists, who have committed crimes. Thus, the Kulyab Oblast Procuracy wanted to call to account the former chairman of the Kulyab Selkhozkhimiya, G. Ustoyev, but the obispolkom did not give permission since he is a deputy. The party penalty also passed G. Ustoyev. The Central Committee had to get involved.

In the Fayzabadskiy Rayon, the person in charge of the rayon, T. Odilov, the chief of the Department of Propaganda and Agitation of the party raykom, K. Fayzaliyev, and the deputy chairman of the rayispolkom, N. Shoa-zizov, received severe reprimands for lack of control over the work of children's institutions. But not 5 months had passed, when the raykom removed the penalty because they had been recommended. . . as candidates for deputy.

[Question] Only recently we put the question: Where are the sources of this mass sickness—the aspiration to high position and power? The writer Viktor Astafyev christened such a situation with the word "snatching" [raskh-vatukha]. But are we talking only about a large slice? The party card frequently serves as something like cover, a kind of means of protection.

At the January CPSU Central Committee Plenum it was emphasized: restructuring is the demolition of the mechanism of inhibition. Many understand this only as economic reforms, but it is precisely reforms that move people. Or do not move them. Thus, in the moral sphere, too, there is a mechanism of inhibition which must be overcome. Power that is given by a high post has come to be understood by some, not as service to the Fatherland, but as a means for the attainment of personal wealth.

Frequently in the raykoms and gorkoms one can hear the complaint: well, they are apathetic people, they are used to working from command to command. Yes, people are filled with indignation inside, but for the first step they need the example of social justice at their plant, in the kolkhoz and the school, the example of equal demands on the ordinary communist and the administrator. Are the inertia and caution in the actions of the primary party organizations not explained by these aspects? You see, ordinary communists understand very well: The administrator is confirmed, and is sometimes recommended by the obkom, gorkom or raykom. Once they have recommended him, it means that in the case of anything they are responsible. But to be responsible—means to approach oneself critically, in other words, to flog oneself. Not everyone has sufficient resolve to do

this. For this reason, isolated cases of adherence to principle, as a warning, do not convince people. They know that adherence to principle does not depend on ranks and departments, it either exists or it does not exist.

[Answer] Indeed, there are many examples of the slow growth of the fighting spirit and activity of primary party organizations. True, they still punish with a glance back to the leadership: How, they say, will they see things there?

Here is an example. The Dzhirgatalskiy People's Control Committee called to account 17 members of the CPSU. This was reported locally, but only in the primary party organization of the Sovkhoz imeni Shestopalov did they not pigeon-hole the paper, but discussed it and punished the communist. The Statute of the CPSU talks about the twofold responsibility of communists—before the party and the law. This means the punishment must also be twofold and the demand stricter. There must not be a place for complacency. Adherence to principles frequently costs nerves, but unscrupulousness turns out to be more expensive—for everyone of us, for society and the state.

But I do not agree with you in everything. The roots of careerism lie not only in impunity, but also in a lack of spirituality. We are waging a struggle for the pure and honest appearance of the party member, for the Leninist norms of party life. However, you are right: The pre-restructuring conviction is still operating that the administrator is a person beyond criticism, for him there is a special democracy, he is subject to a different demand.

[Question] Usually, when the newspaper reports on this or that case of degeneration of a communist or the unscrupulousness of a party organization, letters arrive in the editorial office in which people raise the question: Why are those who recommended the people who have committed an offense in their duties not punished? Indeed, what is the reason for such amicable tolerance vis-a-vis administrators? Or were we dealing precisely with the minority that sees eye to eye, when unscrupulousness itself was raised to the principle of the elected? Or are there other reasons? How convinced can we be that there will not be a repetition of such a thing?

[Answer] The problems of restructuring must not be simplified. Indeed, there is a definite resistance of those who are used to the quiet and carefree life. But stronger is the conservatism of inertia, peace, complacency, and the aspiration to level one's own shortcomings. This is especially apparent in the example of the party reserve. It would seem that now there should be a strict barrier to the penetration of any smart operators and plunderers into the ranks of the CPSU; nevertheless there have been cases to the contrary. For example, a vendor from Parkhar, while going through his candidate probation, was found guilty of overcharging his customers, but the raykom accepts him as a member of the CPSU.

What do we have here—the support of a high administrator, careerist, "his" man? Of course not. They simply did not want to acknowledge their mistake. This inertia is characteristic also of those who give recommendations to the party, who recommend for a post. They judge by the questionnaire—he is a leading worker, he has an education, in school he was an activist, and he attended circles. They do not consider the man as a thinking and politically mature individual. Many at present also approach the moral cleansing in the party with the following measures: A thief—or not, a deceiver—or not. These simply must not be in the party.

There are questions which traditionally are not solved by the raykoms because they touch on a mass of other problems, which in their turn await resolution. A case in point, for example, is the question of women's rights. A communist drove a daughter-in-law to self-immolation, but only in prison was he deprived of his party card. Does the raykom support such a monster? No. But, you see, the question of "women's rights" touches on the problem of religiosity, education, and the solution of social tasks. The party committee is literally swimming in all of these questions. There are no constructive proposals and constructive measures. And it therefore believes that it is better to keep silent and not cause a storm.

It is impossible to bashfully keep silent about the dense ignorance and lack of knowledge of the works of V. I. Lenin, party history, and the superficial understanding of contemporary party documents.

There is still another aspect. For a long time cadres lost the habit of independence. Including party cadres—from independent political work with people. The mechanism of the substitution of economic and soviet organs was established. Now, when the course has been set for independence, it turns out that people do not have the ability to assume the responsibility to decide and to act. This capital will also have to be increased. V. I. Lenin talked about the necessity of combining mass-meeting democratism with iron discipline. If one is to judge the level of today's party committees, they have not advanced far from the mass-meeting positions.

A great deal in the struggle for the purity of party ranks is directly connected with the level of glasnost. Glasnost must expand and in its path tear down departmental barriers. The penalties imposed on communists by people's control committees, administrative and soviet organs, trade union and other organizations must be addressed to the top and the bottom. Control must be thorough. These are the features of a system which must act unfailingly, definitively break inertia, and establish the only justified dictate—the dictate of conscience.

I foresee in conclusion the question about the plans for the future. A great deal of work lies ahead. The shortcomings mentioned are characteristic of some party committees in rayons of republic subordination and of

the Kurgan-Tyube Oblast Organization. I believe an exhaustive answer to the immediate plans will be provided by the forthcoming plenum, at which the report of the Tajik CP Central Committee Buro on guiding restructuring will be discussed.

If we talk about the maximum, then the slat we must reach is high. Let us turn to the history of the party, let us remember the examples of the Bolsheviks and the communists of Lenin's time. These were people of stable convictions, high culture, crystal-clear honesty and unselfishness. They served the people and the idea of communism. The party today needs precisely such fighters.

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**BSSR CP Cencom Buro Meeting Reported**  
18000152a Minsk *SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA* in  
Russian 10 Dec 87 p 1

[Unattributed report: "In the Buro of the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee"]

[Text] At its regular meeting held on 9 December, the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee Buro heard a report of the party committee (Secretary V.A. Grebenev) and administration of the Mogilev Khimvolokno Production Association imeni V.I. Lenin (General Director I.A. Yefanov) on the work in the mobilization of the collective to fulfill the demands of the 27th CPSU Congress for a fundamental increase in the efficiency of the utilization of the production potential.

The decree that was passed noted that the party committee and administration of the association achieved some increase in the efficiency of production. The production of output increased by 10.8 percent compared with 1985. The target in the five-year plan was 6.6 percent. Its entire increase was obtained by raising the productivity of labor. The enterprise is stably fulfilling the plan for the basic technical and economic indicators.

The party committee, association administration, and primary and shop party organizations are still slow, however, in restructuring their activities in accordance with current requirements and have an inadequate influence on the formation of new economic thinking and socialist initiative and efficiency among personnel and on the establishment in the labor collectives of an atmosphere of *glasnost*, strictness, and a self-critical attitude toward achieved results. The decisions made are not always supported by organizational measures and effective control of performance.

The enterprise is not fully utilizing production capacities and there is significant idle time for equipment. The work to introduce progressive methods of administration and the organization of labor is proceeding slowly. The pace of construction of production facilities and housing has slowed.

The Buro of the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee obligated the party committee and administration of the association to take urgent measures for a fundamental restructuring of organizational, political-education and economic activities, aiming for a comprehensive intensification of production, an increase in the labor and public activity of workers, and a fulfillment and overfulfillment of the five-year plans. It was suggested to them that they activate the work in preparing the association for the transition to full cost accounting and self-financing, provide for a further increase in the quality of output, transfer all production subdivisions to the collective contract no later than 1988, and introduce the method of the guaranteed repair and servicing of equipment. Their attention was directed to the necessity of a more expeditious resolution of the questions of the development of the production and social base of the association and the building of environmentally protected facilities.

The Buro of the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee discussed the article "The Party Committee and Perestroika" printed in the newspaper *SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA* on 8 December 1987. The passed decree, which will be published in the press, recommended to the republic's party committees and organizations that they utilize the experience of the party committee of Volkovyskiy Sovkhoz in practical work.

In the area of control, the Buro of the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee examined the course of the fulfillment in the republic of the decisions of the party and government on the improvement of the technical servicing and repair of the passenger cars belonging to citizens and the increase in the production of spare parts for them. In the course of the discussion, it was emphasized that in the last 2 years the cities and inhabited localities put into operation four new stations for the technical servicing and repair of motor vehicles, opened 20 branches, and increased the capacities of the stations. Ten enterprises organized the production of spare parts in short supply.

At the same time, it was noted that the BSSR Ministry of Housing and Municipal Services, the BSSR State Committee for the Supply of Petroleum Products, the republic administration of "Avtotekhobsluzhivaniye," and the Vitebsk, Grodno and Minsk oblispolkoms allowed disruptions in the construction of planned specialized enterprises for the technical servicing and repair of motor vehicles belonging to citizens. Not enough is being done to eliminate mismanagement in this area and to raise the quality and standards of service. Insufficient use is being made of the possibilities of industrial enterprises for the production of spare parts in short supply.

The decree noted the implementation of additional measures aimed at a further improvement in the technical servicing and repair of motor vehicles belonging to citizens.

At the meeting, there was discussion of several other questions in party work and Soviet construction, in which the appropriate decisions were made.

9746

**Moscow Gorkom on Better Local Living Conditions, Other Issues**  
18000152b Moscow MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 17 Dec 87 p 1

[MosTASS report: "In the Moscow CPSU Gorkom"]

[Text] At its meeting on 16 December, the bureau of the Moscow CPSU Gorkom examined the draft of a comprehensive plan for the restructuring of the work among the public at their place of residence. This draft takes into account the positive experience gained after the April CPSU Central Committee Plenum in a number of city rayons in the development of the public activity of the citizens of Moscow, the organization of educational and mass cultural work in housing blocks, and the strengthening of the material base of the social sphere. It generalized the proposals of the party raykoms, ispolkoms of rayon soviets, and party, trade-union and Komsomol organizations in the radical improvement of the conditions for the daily life and recreation of the capital city's population.

It is planned to make fuller use of the rights and possibilities granted to the party raykoms and rayispolkom for the establishment of an effective system of work with the public at their place of residence, the raising of the vanguard role of communists in the indicated reforms, and the coordination of the efforts and means of labor collectives, local agencies of self-administration, and public organizations.

The further democratization of public life requires the involvement above all of the inhabitants themselves in the discussion and resolution of the urgent questions of socialist intercourse. In this connection, emphasis was given to the necessity of the search for new approaches to organizational and educational work for the purpose of getting people interested, better considering their interests and vital needs, and persistently and systematically resolving the problems of concern to inhabitants. It is necessary to involve communists living in the corresponding microrayons—above all veterans of the party, war and labor—in the work with the public, regardless of where their party registration may be.

The effectiveness of this work depends to a considerable degree upon the realization of the full powers of the soviets of people's deputies in the comprehensive social and economic development of their territories and upon the active involvement of all deputies of the city and rayon soviets in practical work at the place of residence of their electors.

The strengthening of the material base of the social sphere and the improvement of the conditions of daily life and recreation of the citizens of Moscow substantially raise the role of the soviets of labor collectives established in accordance with the Law of the USSR on the State Enterprise (Association).

It was decided to discuss the draft plan in the primary party organizations at the place of residence. It will be published in the press for broad discussion by the citizens of Moscow.

They examined the question of the state of the material-technical base of Moscow's theaters. It was noted that a number of them are in an unsatisfactory technical state and that the level of equipment of many of them does not meet current requirements.

The ispolkom of the Moscow Soviet, planning authorities and unions of theater workers of the USSR and RSFSR were entrusted with appraising the technical state of theater buildings and structures and, on this basis, with the development of proposals on the sequence of the reconstruction and new construction of Moscow theaters through the year 2000.

Other matters in the work of the city party organization were also examined at the meeting of the party gorkom bureau.

9746

**UkSSR Krym Oblast Censured for Lag in Restructuring**  
18000159 Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 15 Dec 87 p 2

[Article by S. Chugayev, SOVETSKAYA KULTURA special correspondent, "Some People Are 'Waiting in the Trenches': Ukrainian CP Crimean Obkom Plenum Discusses Buro Report on Supervision of Restructuring"]

[Text] "...This is the third year of restructuring, and it's about time that we were witnessing at least its initial successes, but there are hardly any of them to be seen in our oblast. Restructuring is proceeding with difficulty. The personnel staffs everywhere are old, and the habit of operating in the former way is too strong. Many leading officials are, unfortunately, still sitting and 'waiting in the trenches.' It seems that restructuring has aroused only the CPSU Central Committee and those persons who have worked diligently all their lives and who need help from party committees."

This excerpt from a letter by Simferopol inhabitants N. Krylov and Ye. Paderin was (like many other similar letters, suggestions, and opinions sent to the obkom, editorial offices of the local newspapers, as well as radio and television stations, on the eve of the plenum) included among the information materials which were handed over to members of the Crimean Party Oblast

Committee before the session began. And this attested to not only the boldness and self-criticism among the members of the leadership organ of this oblast's communists, as well as their commitment to achieve glasnost, but also to the large amount of organizational and political work which the obkom buro and its machinery conducted just prior to the plenum.

Actually, the preparation for it began back in October, when the newspaper KRYMSKAYA PRAVDA, after publishing in its pages an announcement of the forthcoming plenum, addressed a wide range of questions to its readers concerning the progress being made in modernizing various spheres of life, about the experience and problems of restructuring. The obkom secretaries and buro members drove out to the party organizations, met with the oblast's working people, with party, trade-union, and Komsomol activists, with staff members of the mass media, with scholars, writers, artists....

The suggestions and remarks addressed to the city and rayon party organizations, as well as those directed to the oblast party committee, were carefully studied and systematized; it was decided to include many of them, along with letters sent at that time to the obkom and to editorial offices, among the informational materials for the plenum's participants.

Quite a few complaints are contained within these materials regarding the party committee's activities. The principal "sore spots" are well known: burocratism, over-organization, poor substitution of economic managers, weak links between the obkom, gorkoms, and raykoms, on the one hand, and the primary party organizations, on the other hand.... There were also quite a few interesting, businesslike suggestions. Examples of these are: grant city and rayon committees more freedom in matters of forming the machinery's structure and its staffs, taking local conditions into account; allocating responsibilities among the instructional personnel in accordance with the "multiple principle," reduce the number of sessions and meetings; conduct plenums of gorkoms and raykoms once every four months, and party meetings in primary organizations—once every two months....

These suggestions merit attention. Nevertheless, in studying these interesting and businesslike remarks one's attention is drawn willy-nilly to the fact that all of them are actually devoted to urgent problems of restructuring. But what about experience? There is practically nothing about experience. And so, are the letter-writers correct with regard to people "waiting in the trenches?" The answer to this question should have been provided by the plenum.

The answer seems all the more necessary in that nowadays the oblast is experiencing substantial difficulties, particularly economic difficulties. Suffice it to say that one out of every five enterprises in the Crimea does not carry out its assigned tasks with regard to profits or

product deliveries; one out of every four does not provide for a reduction in its production costs; and one out of every five does not ensure an increase in labor productivity. With regard to quality, this oblast is the worst in the Ukraine. What are the reasons for all this? Insufficient acceleration of scientific and technical progress, faulty introduction of up-to-date technology (a third of the workers are employed in heavy, manual labor), and a low level of labor organization.

And this is happening on the eve of converting more than half of the oblast's industrial enterprises to operate under the new management conditions. Moreover, 18 enterprises have already carried out such a conversion and are experiencing on themselves the effects of all the above-listed shortcomings with particular force. On themselves, on their own economic activities, on earning profits, on their financial situation, and, in the final analysis, on wages.

Things are not so bad in the Crimea with regard to agriculture. But there are problems even here. The plan is not being fulfilled evenly; it is frequently "extricated" by means of certain strong farms, whereas unprofitable kolkhozes and sovkhozes are also operating along with them. And such forms of labor as the brigade and family contracts are not developing rapidly enough.

This oblast has acute problems in capital construction, development of a material base for public education, health care, and culture. There are substantial shortcomings in ideological and indoctrinational work, especially among young persons.

And so under such conditions just what should be the place and role of the party organizations, primarily as the political leaders of restructuring?

Here is a characteristic example. Shortly before the plenum the obkom buro examined the activity of a certain party raykom—that of the Sovetskiy Rayon—with regard to its leadership of restructuring. They examined it carefully and from all sides—unlike the way this had been done in the past. And just what came to light? This raykom (whose activity, let it be noted, during the recent accountability report-and-election campaign was "acknowledged to be satisfactory") turned out to be "...incapable of heading up restructuring in the rayon. The buro secretaries and machinery staff members have failed to understand its essence; they have a poor concept of its guidelines and basic directions. Having once assumed the functions of economic management, the raykom cannot now shirk them; it has manifested an unjustified sluggishness in modernizing operational forms and methods, in making the transition from administrative to economic methods of management, and thus it has not acted fully as an organ of political leadership. The raykom has not met the most important demand of the 27th CPSU Congress, namely that every primary party organization live in an atmosphere of

creative searching and participate practically in restructuring, making wide use of its basic factors—democratization, glasnost, criticism, and self-criticism."

This is a quotation from the accountability report of the obkom buro, which was delivered by A.N. Gireenko, its first secretary. And due credit must be given to the buro members; their report did not skirt around any sharp questions; it was honest and self-critical.

It contained substantial, stern reprimands directed at the buro secretaries, members, and candidate members, as well as at the heads of the obkom departments. It was emphasized that the machinery of the party oblast committee lacked the know-how to correctly arrange work under the conditions of democracy and glasnost, or to effectively exercise leadership of the city and rayon committees and the primary party organizations. Such a stance cannot help but evoke respect, although, in general, it appears quite natural today. Nevertheless, the further on the reading of the report proceeded, and the sharper and more critical the evaluations resounded, the more distinctly a desire to glance at the calendar took shape: to see in what year the plenum was being held—in 1987 or 1985, and what it was discussing—the results of the 27th CPSU Congress, or was it analyzing the course taken by restructuring, which is already in its third year now?

Certainly the discussion was about the course being taken by restructuring. So what "baggage" had the oblast party organization brought with it to this third year; what experience—no matter how small—had it accumulated; and by what routes would it proceed further? Unfortunately, matters, in general, did not get beyond such directives as "add to your workload," "intensify," and "activate."

Take, for example, such an important matter as personnel work. Some positive changes have occurred here: since the start of the year more than 4,500 officials have been elected by voting; secretaries of several raykoms and gorkoms, as well as the chairmen of rayon and city soviets have been elected from among two or more candidates. But at the same time 17 officials of the obkom nomenclature were relieved of their duties in connection with abuses and violations. During the course of the accountability reports 143 primary party organization secretaries were replaced. There is a high percentage rate of communists, especially young ones, who are being expelled or excluded from the party ranks.

And just what does the obkom buro propose in such a situation?

To pay more attention to training the reserves.

Undoubtedly, this slogan is a correct one, but it obviously fails to exhaust the essence of the matter.

Willy-nilly one is reminded of the following remark uttered in a primary party organization during the course of preparing for this plenum: "Inspecting functions have basically predominated in the work of the party obkom; it has not become a generator of new ideas or new approaches in restructuring. Frequently the word 'must' is not reinforced by the word 'how.'"

And it is precisely this "how" which is clearly lacking in the accountability report, despite all the latter's critical and self-critical force. Because, you know, time moves inexorably, and it keeps its own account. Just two years ago such a report would have been deemed virtually revolutionary. But today we see that merely criticism and merely glasnost are no longer enough. Glasnost must be constructive. Restructuring is impossible without glasnost. But even glasnost and criticism without restructuring do not in and by themselves advance the cause. By the way, the report also noted that certain leading officials have already learned to live with having criticism leveled at them. They have acquired a unique kind of immunity....

However, hope still remained that the report's sharpness would impel the discussants to talk about the experience of restructuring in the localities and perhaps to answer the question "how?" Unfortunately, the impression was created that many of those taking part in the discussions had been, so to speak, hypnotized by the self-criticism of the obkom buro. The self-reporting, self-scourging speeches of many party officials and economic managers resonated with confessions of mistakes and promises to correct matters. Obkom members—workers and kolkhoz members spoke about their own production problems. Though urgent and pressing, most of these problems could be solved by enterprise administrations or by local soviets. But the fundamental question—what has been done, what is being done, and what will be done so that this oblast's party organization may become indeed the political leader of restructuring—that has still remained unanswered.

It was not by chance that the most lively response in the auditorium was caused by speeches containing constructive proposals. Thus, A. Smolyannikov, first secretary of the Sevastopol Party Gorkom, in emphasizing that nowadays political approaches to solving problems are necessary, "while we are attempting merely to master the political methods of leadership," proposed that the obkom machinery not "give birth to papers" and not "try to go into every minute detail," but rather concentrate its efforts on the main, central problems.

V. Chaykovskiy, first secretary of the Krasnoperekop Party Gorkom, spoke with a heavy heart about the Crimea's ecological problems (it must be noted that this was the only speech in which the oblast was accorded the importance which it has for the entire country rather than merely an ordinary industrial-agricultural region). Unfortunately, however, there were not many such speeches.

We must be fair to the obkom first secretary. There was a great deal in the report and in the discussion for which he took responsibility, or, as they say, took "upon himself," even though he had headed up this oblast's party organization for scarcely more than six months. It was, to a large extent, thanks to his efforts that it did become possible to speak about the initial shoots of restructuring. This was noted in the speech by V. Kryuchkov, secretary of the Ukrainian CP Central Committee, who took part in this plenum's work. And the following appraisal of the buro's activity by the plenum also seems fair: "The obkom plenum decrees that the obkom buro is carrying out restructuring, but it has not yet measured up to the requirements of the 27th CPSU Congress."

"We need a mandate to sharply raise our exacting requirements." That was the way A. Girenko briefly replied before the discussion began to my question as to what results he expected from the plenum.

It may be considered that the obkom buro did receive such a mandate. And the fact that the first secretary ranks the concepts of exacting requirements and democracy together instills hopes.

But what about the obkom members, the participants in the plenum? What were their impressions and hopes? They are positive and optimistic: "We never had such a plenum." "That's real restructuring...."

Should we then regret that such a discussion did not take place two years ago? Or should we console ourselves with the thought that it is better late than never?

But one thing seems undoubtedly true : the plenum, which was supposed to become a stage on the road to restructuring, turned out to be something like at least a beginning of the that road in the Crimea.

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**UkSSR Khmelnitskiy Oblast Plenum Censures Anonymity, Secrecy**  
18000164 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian  
18 Dec 87 p 2

[Article by PRAVDA UKRAINY special correspondent Yu. Kolesnikova: "UkSSR Khmelnitskiy Oblast Plenum Censures Anonymity, Secrecy—A Report from the Khmelnitskiy Oblast Party Plenum"]

[Text] On the eve of the party plenum, I happened to attend a report and election meeting of communists at the Kolkhoz imeni Zhdanov in Starokonstantinskiy Rayon. It was cold in the kolkhoz management office, where the communists were gathered in overcoats and sheep-skin jackets—a scene in no way resembling the glittering hall of the party obkom meeting with its women smartly dressed and coiffured, its men in starched shirts, and silk

curtains on the windows. But in terms of personal concern, a desire for change, and the urge to enliven party activities, these meetings were surprisingly similar.

Passions flared all the more brightly in the unheated hall. True, this meeting—like the plenum itself—seemed overly organized at the start. But fortunately the communist I. P. Koblyuk, a veteran teacher, rose and interrupted the customary course of events. A vigorous and vibrant message, even if a bit rough-hewn, reaches hearts and minds more quickly than a smoothly crafted one.

"Why do we keep silent about the main thing?" asked Ivan Panteleymonovich. "What about self-knowledge? What about our party work? What about the attitude of communists towards their social commitments? What about the fact that many of us still won't lift a finger to help others? You want something done—that'll be a ruble! Must we really convert to cost accounting in the area of personal relations?"

Like a rock hurled at the smooth surface of a lake, it brought reverberations:

"There are some who disgrace the high calling of party membership. Maybe the time has come to purge party ranks."

"There isn't a lecturer at the farm from outside the rayon....Discipline has begun to go down again....It would be interesting to know, is this the case only with us here or in other places as well?"

"The party secretary is busier replacing specialists than in doing his party work. It's not a matter any longer of giving and taking orders but rather of knowing the facts of how people live."

"Should the chairman really concern himself with lighting a lamp? An electrician can be hired for that. And as for a farm conveyer-belt, an engineer ought to put his mind on it. Each one of us has his work to do in a particular set of circumstances..."

These comments at a public gathering! And at the party plenum? There, too, the dialogue was as a rule out in the open in most respects.

V. G. Dikusarov, first secretary of the Khmelnitskiy party oblast committee, tried to be objective and self-critical in delivering the official report. He did not simply enumerate shortcomings; he went further in attempting to analyze why everything did not take place as one might wish. It cannot be said that the primary party organizations and party committees cannot find opportunities for exerting a greater effect on the economy. For example, the party committees of Shepetovskiy, Krasilovskiy, Teofipolskiy, and Starokonstantinovskiy rayons have managed to achieve a good deal in developing the agro-industrial complex. It is no accident of fortune that, in terms of yield and gross grain harvest,

Khmelnitskiy Oblast reached a level of achievement set for the end of the Five-Year Plan. Over a two-year period grain procurements exceeded the plan by 200,000 tons; sugar beet production fulfilled a two-year quota. In the current year 4.3 million tons of sugar beets (that is, 100 tons more than called for by the plan) have been sold to the state, and the two-year quotas set by the Five-Year Plan for potatoes, vegetables, and all types of livestock produce have been overfulfilled.

There are more than enough problems, omissions, and shortcomings, however, in the operations of the oblast agro-industrial committee. It is not without reason that the plenum removed from obkom membership V. D. Kashtan and relieved him of his duties as deputy chairman of the oblast agro-industrial committee. It is inconceivable how he could have been appointed to the staff of the oblast APK without being a specialist in the economics of agricultural production. It is today acknowledged by everyone that Kashtan did his work poorly, and that he had sat down, as they say, in the wrong sleigh. But he was relieved of his task only after it had become apparent that he had misused his office. The question arises: Why should the plenum have waited for provocation to fire him?

Who was it, for example, that recommended such an incompetent manager as E. A. Bazhenov to his post as director of the Khmelnitskiy AES? How is it possible that E. S. Lazarkevich could stay on so long in his position as first secretary of the Dunayevetskiy party raykom, which for several years has been making a muddle of things?

It is not surprising that a number of speakers demanded that the obkom buro deal with personnel problems not secretly—not in the seclusion of their offices—but by openly discussing candidates proposed in the labor collectives.

A. I. Lisovskiy, first secretary of the city rayon committee, in his speech gave an example of such a costly mistake. Last year A. I. Telega became director of the local machine-building plant. No sooner was the new director appointed, with the approval of the ministry and the concurrence of the party obkom, than he snapped at the bait, as they say. And although the engineering capabilities of Comrade Telega do not stir objections, for a manager, you will agree, they are meager. A peremptory manner, rudeness, and an absence of elementary tact, unfortunately, were the managerial qualities that first drew the attention of subordinates. These questions arise: Who checked the references of Comrade Telega? And were the above-mentioned character traits noted?

In the report as well as in the speeches a good deal of attention was devoted to shortcomings in organizational work. A. G. Arkhipova, first secretary of the Slavutskiy party gorkom, criticized the obkom buro for poorly analyzing critical comments made at the plenums and conferences.

"At the last oblast party conference," Anna Grigoryevna said, "I proposed improving the study programs of first secretaries. I suggested at the same time a program to familiarize us with the practice as well as the theory of party work. But my remarks went unheeded, and they have only increased the number of conferences."

A proposal by Comrade Arkhipova to wage a campaign against anonymous writers of letters of grievance was enthusiastically supported by plenum participants.

"They don't belong in a society that maintains an atmosphere of high morality and truthfulness," she said. "Even in a period of glasnost these anonymous writers haven't changed their ways—peaking around corners, slandering and maligning. Their informing leads to the most humiliating sort of examinations. Is this not reminiscent of the tragic past when cadres were destroyed by such informing? Our party has openly spoken of this bitter truth. I believe we must put a halt to reacting to anonymous reports or we will never teach our people to be candid and truthful."

S. V. Khmyz, editor of the oblast newspaper RADYANSKE PODILYA, dealt in his speech with reacting to criticism expressed in the press, expanding glasnost and democracy, and instilling tolerance of the opinions of others. It is not easy to live in an atmosphere of openness and glasnost. It is a very good thing that our press, in response to the will of the party, has turned out to be in the forefront of the struggle for restructuring. But this situation is not to everyone's taste. And the party committees must concern themselves with improving the caliber of criticism and seeing that it takes effect. The place of a party worker among the people—as I. N. Servetnik, party secretary of the Chemerovetskiy Rayon committee, declared—should more often be at the grassroots level of party organizations.

Unfortunately, the distance between the obkom and the primary party organizations is still considerable, and the gears of the organizational apparatus between them are many. In the course of a year, the speaker said, not a single obkom worker had met with the party aktiv in the primary party organization of Chemerovetskiy Rayon or taken any part in either the school of the party economic aktiv or in the school for young communists.

This serious reproach was heard in several of the other speeches. Obkom workers still rarely show up in the labor collectives.

"As it happens many of them only know the way to the director's office or, ideally, the party secretary's office," complained S. V. Karvan, a worker at the Khmelnitskiy transformer substation plant and deputy of the UkrSSR Supreme Soviet.

The obkom department of party organization work was not overlooking useful experience, it was noted by the speakers. Public opinion polls are held on the eve of

hearing reports by the leaders of party, soviet, and economic organs. Local hearings are held by raykom and gorkom buros at which all are invited to attend; and comprehensive assistance is given to party committees by a set of instructors on hand from the various obkom departments.

A. I. Budantseva, secretary of the Kamenets-Podolskiy party raykom, addressed the difficult problems associated with the education of youth. It makes no sense to blame everything on young people, said Anna Ivanovna. They become what we raise them to be, and education begins with truth. In our relations with our children we must be honest.

A considerable amount of attention was given by the speakers to social development in the oblast, especially to the construction of residential housing. It must be acknowledged that the situation in this respect continues to be difficult. As noted in the official report, the waiting line for housing has not gone down and still consists of 63,000 people. And although many collectives were criticized in the obkom report for not having a clear conception of how to resolve this urgent problem, there was a general feeling that the obkom buro itself had not yet worked out a clear program of action.

Ye. V. Kachalovskiy, a member of the Ukrainian CP Central Committee Politburo and first deputy chairman of the UkrSSR Council of Ministers, emphasized in his address to the plenum that the buro, its secretaries, and the obkom department heads lack the necessary consistency and perseverance to involve all party committees and party organizations in restructuring. It is, he said, necessary to review many forms and methods of organizational and educational-ideological activities; to get rid of the armchair style of management; to accord the primary party organizations a greater degree of independence, and steadily and insistently to improve their ability to function.

Since the beginning of the year 112 oblast enterprises have been engaged in the process of converting to cost accounting. But are they prepared to do so? Unfortunately, the economic studies program in the oblast has been poorly established and is yet to yield tangible results.

"We need to be closer to the people," said the obkom first secretary in his report, "to know their feelings and to share their cares and concerns. Only then will the people respond to our needs and demands."

These are fine words. But will the communists of the Kolkhoz imeni Zhdanov feel close to the oblast committee? Time will tell.

**LiSSR's Songayla Speaks to Party Raykom**  
18000127 Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian  
11 Dec 87 pp 1,2

[ELTA report of speech by R. I. Songayla, first secretary of the Lithuanian CP Central Committee, in Ukmerskiy Rayon on 9 December 1987: "Progress in Restructuring—Consolidation and Expansion"]

[Text] As everyone knows, plenary sessions of the Communist Party Central Committees will be taking place in union republics—together with those of kray, oblast, okrug, city, and rayon party committees—as the year comes to an end and the new year gets under way, in compliance with the resolution of the CPSU Central Committee. City and rayon plenums have already begun to consider reports by committee buros on their supervision of the restructuring process.

The plenum of the Lithuanian CP Central Committee is scheduled to take up this matter towards the end of January 1988. The Central Committee buro is preparing for this plenum in advance as it directs the principles of democratizing the inner life and activities of the party. At hand lies the task of familiarizing itself more fully with the progress of restructuring locally by listening to opinions, critical remarks, and proposals of communists and non-party workers as well as the party aktiv. With this end in mind, among the many measures being undertaken, an important place belongs to meetings now being held between the Central Committee buro and members of the party gorkom and raykom buros, as well as with ranking party, soviet, and industrial workers of cities and rayons.

On 9 December R. I. Songayla, first secretary of the Lithuanian CP Central Committee, met with members of the Ukmerskiy Rayon party committee's buro together with soviet and industrial workers of the rayon.

"The present period," Comrade Songayla said in initiating the discussion, "is rich in political happenings of enormous significance in the international arena as well as in the life of our party and country. Chief among them are the celebration of the 70th Anniversary of Great October and the meeting between M. S. Gorbachev and U.S. President R. Reagan.

"This celebration of the October Jubilee and a solemn joint session of the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Supreme Soviet, and the RFSFR Supreme Soviet, with a report by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, has provided a powerful impetus to the ongoing process of restructuring our society, to the successful solution of tasks both present and in prospect, and to the implementation of decisions taken by the 27th Party Congress. Now we understand better the history of our party and the country, the lessons learned, and we can assess more objectively what has been accomplished—what has worked out for the better and why as well as what has

worked out for the worse. But the main thing is that we can determine more accurately the landmarks that lead to the tasks that lie ahead. That is subject of our frank discussion today.

Comrades, it is from you that we rely on learning not only reports of the restructuring work that has been done and its results, but also about the difficulties you are encountering and about the reasons for them. It is vitally important for us to learn objective reactions to the activities of the Central Committee, The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, and the Council of Ministers, as well as other republic organizations under conditions of the new demands made upon them, as it is, of course, to hear proposals made for the further extension of reorganization from top to bottom in all sectors."

Speaking also at the meeting were Yu. M. Budrikis, first secretary of the Ukmerskiy Rayon party committee; A. Ts. Bernotas, chairman of the rayon executive committee; R. I. Sharapayev, second secretary of the rayon party committee; I. P. Stakauskas, chairman of the agro-industrial association; G. A. Galinauskas, a machine operator with the Pabaykas Vegetable-Growing Sovkhoz; B. Yu. Gudelyauskene, secretary of the rayon party committee; and S. Yu. Yatskunas, head of the rayon committee's organizational department. They discussed how the rayon committee, executive committee, the agro-industrial association, and other rayon organizations were reorganizing their operations; ways and means being used to resolve the task of speeding up economic and social development; difficulties and obstacles being encountered, and how to overcome them. The speakers criticized certain aspects of activity by the Lithuanian CP Central Committee, the republic Council of Ministers, and other republic departments and organizations, and they made suggestions for further improvement.

R. I. Songayla, first secretary of the Lithuanian CP Central Committee, addressed the meeting as follows:

"The restructuring process now taking place is instilling continuously into every phase of our life and work more innovation, efficiency, organization, order, and discipline. All this is bringing about notable changes for the better. They are apparent in our rayon as well in others. Recently, a number of changes for the better have manifested themselves in the operations of the party raykom, rayispolkom, and certain other organizations. Little by little stagnation, which became deeply rooted in the republic and led to a standstill, is being overcome. The efforts of leading cadres, party organizations, and all workers have become directed more successfully at improving the use of available resources and capacities, while improving incentives to discern long-term prospects and to steadfastly strive for established objectives.

"A good deal has been done to solve the social problems of rural areas and to stabilize the farming collectives. This in turn is making it possible to deal more successfully with production problems. There is already a trend,

although still weak, in the direction of greater yields of agricultural crops and greater productivity in livestock farming, accompanied by a reduction in production costs and consolidation of savings on the farms.

"But what we have succeeded in doing is only the first step, it is only the beginning of an immense amount of work that remains to be accomplished in implementing the revolutionary transformations projected in the resolutions of the 27th Party Congress and the July (1987) plenums of the CPSU Central Committee. All things considered—including what has been said here today—you correctly understand this, and it allows us to hope that you will not rest on your laurels but press forward even more resolutely, vigorously, and steadfastly.

"Meanwhile, there is not enough consistency and persistence in carrying out the outlined tasks on the part of the party raykom and other organizations and leading cadres in the rayon.

"The Central Committee buro has expressed its concern with the fact that there has been no perceptible progress in Ukmerskiy Rayon for a long time. The available productive potential is not being exploited satisfactorily. The economic efficiency of agricultural production is also poor. In terms of production profit per hectare of arable land, the rayon last year turned out to be in next to last place in the republic. The profit in agricultural production has markedly declined. True, this year, according to preliminary figures, the situation should be better. The profit margins of the major crops, however, such as grain, milk, beef, and pork, remain below the average level of the republic. On certain farms in the rayon crop farming and, in places, even livestock farming prove to be unprofitable.

"The cost of increasing the weight of cattle and pigs is high. The farms of the rayon have a considerable amount of overdue indebtedness to Gosbank as well as to suppliers and contractors. Can things really continue to be managed in this way as preparations are made to operate under conditions of full cost accounting, self-financing, and self-supporting production [samookupayemost]?"

"Where is the way out of the situation that has been created?

"The members of the party raykom buro are correct in seeking it in the overall intensification of agricultural production. A beginning must be made in grain production. Over the period of the last three five-year plans the rayon has not fulfilled plans for the production of grain. And during the latest Five-Year Plan the average grain yield was lower than during the two previous five-year plans.

"True, this year took a turn for the better—the yield of grain was 28.8 quintals per hectare. Now nothing is more important than consolidating the level reached and pressing on. Those who live in Ukmerskiy Rayon,

however, continue to lag behind not only rayons in the second category, which have comparable conditions; they have begun to be outdistanced by the farmers of Trakayskiy, Shalchinskiy, Varenskiy, and Telshayskiy rayons, whose lands and other resources are significantly worse than those of Ukmerskiy Rayon.

"The greatest misfortune, here as in many other rayons, continues to be poor crop cultivation, failure to comply with the requirements of agro-technology, and big losses in taking in the harvest. Inertia on the part of some managers and specialists, and here and there even indifference; a formal relationship to scientific recommendations; and obliviousness to the experience of the leading farm enterprises. These are the vices whose roots have gone deeper in this rayon than in others of the republic.

"Take, for example, grain-growing with the intensive techniques. Last year intensively cultivated areas of winter-grown grain yielded in all only 25.5 quintals per hectare, and 10 farms failed to obtain even 25 quintals. In the current year grain yields in these areas similarly are 5.4 quintals below the average for the republic. I am not going to analyze individually particular failures to comply with the requirements of the intensive technology. They are well known to you. It is essential in every way possible to strengthen technological discipline.

"The situation is even worse with respect to growing potatoes. Here Ukmerskiy Rayon is to be numbered among those that are dragging down the entire republic. This year only a total of 94 quintals of potatoes were picked in the rayon, and the plan for their sale to the state was only 56 percent fulfilled. The results achieved by us do not bear comparison with those of Belorussian farmers in the cultivation of potatoes, grain, or other crops. This is a bitter but instructive lesson for all those working in the agro-industrial complex of the republic as it is for those in scientific research, who, it must be said, at times ignore the experience of their Belorussian colleagues.

"In sum, restructuring, in the broad sense of the word but particularly in the growing of crops, is still far from being achieved by us.

"The farms of Ukmerskiy Rayon have made a certain amount of improvement with respect to procurement of coarse and succulent feed. Because of failures of technique, however, procurements of some feed stocks remain of poor quality. Once again certain farms found themselves in dire straits with respect to feed.

"It is not surprising therefore that even milk production has not increased on the collective farms this year. Ukmerskiy Rayon is the single rayon that during a period of 11 months has sold less milk to the state than in the preceding year. This occurred primarily because the most favorable grazing period for milk production was not properly exploited. Indicators for the raising and fattening of farm animals have not been improving.

Certain economic trends in livestock farming produce provide cause for concern. The amount of direct expenditure of labor and feed has grown by comparison with last year.

"Today there can no longer be doubt on anyone's part that the situation is better on those kolkhozes and sovkhozes that have set about introducing—not formally but in an authentic and creative manner— intra-farm accounting together with collective and family contracts. Unfortunately, the restructuring of production on these foundations has not been regarded as a prerequisite even in your rayon by all leaders and primary party organizations. With the onset of the new year, when all kolkhozes and sovkhozes will make the transition to the principles of full cost-accounting and self-financing, these forms of organizing production will become obligatory. That is why there is right now no task quite so important for the party raykom and the rayon agro-industrial association staff as assisting farm managers and specialists in every way possible to prepare diligently for operating under the new conditions. And this means, first of all, assisting the economically weak farms, which are least familiar with intra-farm accounting and all forms of contracts, and which have still not experienced their beneficial effect. This is an extremely important and at the same time difficult task.

"On the whole the industrial enterprises of the rayon have been carrying out plan-assigned tasks successfully. Results, however, could be better with regard to the technical reequipping of production. At the Venibe Plant and the mechanical repair plant more than 63 percent of the metal machining equipment is worn out or obsolete. At the experimental flax processing plant, where the latest techniques and technology are needed, only 27 percent of the equipment meets this description. And in the industrial enterprises of the rayon there is still a lot of unqualified manual labor and in places extremely difficult working conditions.

"Construction work is necessarily the focus of constant attention. The basic contract organizations are performing their work poorly. The impression is unavoidable that the party raykom in general and the rayispolkom in particular, whose deputy chairman is P. P. Lepuonis, is supervising capital construction poorly. The plan for putting into operation fixed capital assets this year through state outlays has been fulfilled by only 58 percent during the past 11 months, and for projects of the agro-industrial complex by only 44 percent.

"The Ukmerskiy Rayon administration of the republic Ministry of Construction is especially poor in its performance. Even the construction organization in the rayon has curtailed the scale of its operations in the current year.

"There has been no change for the better brought about by economic means in rural construction projects. In neighboring Ionavskiy Rayon during the past Five-Year

Plan three times more was built than in Ukmerskiy Rayon with the same means at their disposal and even though they have only half as many farms.

"In order to correct this situation in construction, the buro of the party raykom should therefore apply all its energies immediately.

"The rayon's economic and social development depends to a significant extent on the efforts of the local soviets. Many of the soviets are working hard. They are striving to achieve good results in the integrated development of their areas and to meet the needs of the population. But they confront many unresolved problems. The housing problem continues to be particularly critical. Right now in the city of Ukmers there are 1,500 workers waiting in line to receive municipal apartments, and there are 250 families waiting for cooperative apartments. There is a shortage of living space on all the farms. Residents building housing for themselves do not everywhere have state subsidies available. By no means everything has been done to improve conditions of work, everyday life, and recreation for the farm workers.

"Although recently a good deal has been done to improve domestic services for the population, even in this area results could be better. Domestic service centers are not poorly provided for, but out of 40 combined service centers, 17 have been established in poor locations. The turnover of skilled workers is enormous. In the pavilions and workshops of rural areas alone there is generally a shortage of a dozen workers.

"The rayon's plans for retail trade turnover are not being met. Moreover, material support for trade still is not at the level it should be everywhere. More than a third of the stores in the rayon are crowded into places poorly suited to the purposes they serve. The situation is no better in some of the cafeterias; accommodations are congested, and they do not meet hygienic standards.

"More attention must be devoted to improving cultural and educational activities and to training skilled workers for this field; for qualitative criteria in the rayon are below those of the republic. In the houses of culture, for example, only 28 percent of the specialists have higher educations. Nine of the houses of culture have only one person on duty, and there is a shortage of 19 workers for the rayon as a whole. Meanwhile, only six people have been sent to cultural teaching institutions on scholarships.

"In view of all these shortcomings the most serious conclusions must be drawn by the rayispolkom, including the chairman, A. Ts. Bernotas, and his deputies, A. S. Perednis and B. Yu. Tevelene. Their participation in the social and cultural field must be a good deal more vigorous.

"Restructuring is taking place in greater breadth and depth throughout our lives and activities. And it is our duty in every respect to take action, to resolutely progress in translating words into deeds. This depends, first of all, on the extent to which new features of working style and methods of operation are established in rayon management and administration.

"In the first place I should like to touch upon the role of the rayon's Agro-Industrial Association staff and the style and methods of its operation. Its activities must be radically altered and without delay. Who if not its specialists should be the counselors, consultants, and assistants of the farm managers and specialists in the matter of introducing the new methods of management, restructuring production on a sound economic foundation, and developing more auspicious conditions for managerial initiative? Unfortunately, even the Ukmerskiy Rayon agro-industrial association, whose chairman is I. P. Stakauskas, is slow in reorganizing its own operations. Many conferences and seminars for farm experts continue to be called for the apparent purpose of creating a semblance of vigorous activity. The association has not given up arbitrary pressure tactics, accompanied by demands to build production at any cost and apart from the economic consequences. Independence of those in positions of management is in no way a bureaucratic contrivance. It is an objective necessity dictated by the times.

"On another matter, regarding the restructuring process in the raykom itself, its activities demonstrate greater concreteness, depth, glasnost, and democratization. Comrade Yu. M. Budruikis and other comrades have spoken of this here, and these positive trends deserve nothing but commendation. At the same time I feel I should volunteer certain comments and recommendations. It is incumbent upon the party raykom, its buro, and Comrade Budruikis personally in the performance of his duties to take more decisive action so that the party raykom may exercise its full authority as an organ of political leadership. And this means that in all matters it should function primarily through the leading professional and party organizations. It should refrain from activity when party organizations have been left in the shadow of industrial managers. More attention must be devoted to improving the performance of Komsomol organizations. It is essential to refrain from micromanaging the leadership of the rayon ispolkom, the agro-industrial association, and the farms of the rayon. Do not attempt to do the work of others. Rather, require of the supervisory personnel that they work with vigor on their own initiative, and that they be held fully accountable for their areas of assigned responsibility.

"In summary, raising the level of what is expected of the key personnel should become the principal feature of party raykom activities. This is particularly true in dealing with economic managers. They are now to be given greater independence. This does not mean, however, that farm managers can do what they see fit or

perform poorly. On the contrary, we have required of them, and should now require even more stringently, creative, high-quality work and restructuring in full compliance with the new requirements. If a manager cannot do his job independently, and his farm or enterprise simply marks time, then he cannot keep his position.

"It is necessary to introduce on a broader scale competitive elections; that is, the selection of managers from a number of candidates. And to do this, of course, it is essential to improve and to democratize work with the skilled labor reserve, supplementing it with youth and seeking ways to stimulate the teaching and education of the reserve of skilled personnel. Moreover, it is very important to bring about the certification of skilled workers and to make this process an effective means of improving their work. Here is a broad field of responsibility for Comrade Budrikis, and for R. I. Sharapayev, the second secretary, in particular.

"And now we come to the ideological activities of the party raykom, the primary organizations, and the entire party aktiv. The tasks established by the party in this important field of activity are well known to you. You also know the basic scheme for the restructuring of this activity. What should we say by way of advice to the ideological workers of the rayon and to B. Yu. Gudeljauškene, the party raykom secretary, personally? Do not become distracted and restrict yourselves to petty problems that are passing by nature; do not become preoccupied with working out the plans for various undertakings, organizing conferences, and individual projects of a public nature. Let us have a little less formalism, and a little more live interaction with people in direct contact with them where they live and work. It is essential in every way possible to stimulate and improve international education and atheist activities; and to carry on the struggle even more determinedly against drunkenness and alcoholism and for a healthy way of life. All propaganda activities must be tied up in the closest way possible with priority tasks as determined by the party organizations of the rayon, of the republic, and of our party as a whole.

"In conclusion, I want to underscore another vital aspect of our activities. This is the policy of *glasnost*—publicizing our work. The more people come to realize what concerns us, what we are engaged in doing, and what we are striving for, the better they will be able to understand and apprehend party policy and to support it by their labor. An important tool for this purpose in the hands of the party raykom is the rayon newspaper, the work of which is likewise changing for the better. New columns have been introduced to report on the problems of restructuring as they emerge and the most timely matters in the life of the rayon. Nevertheless, it is appropriate to make certain remarks, which are addressed directly to both the editorial staff and to the party raykom. The progress of the restructuring process, the experience and shortcomings of party efforts, and the administration of

the economy are being insufficiently and only superficially reported. And, obviously, this is primarily because rayon leaders only rarely provide an example of what is to be done. Articles by them, responding to the most critical local issues and to the questions of readers, appear infrequently.

"I believe," Comrade Songayla stated in closing, "that today's exchange of views, the suggestions and critical comments you have made, will be of help to us in preparing for the forthcoming plenum of the Central Committee and facilitate its work. The meeting should also prove to be useful to you in the further efforts of the party raykom and other organizations and the entire party aktiv of the rayon with respect to the restructuring process."

On the same day R. I. Songayla, first secretary of the Lithuanian CP Central Committee, became acquainted with the Ukmerge Reinforced Concrete Plant and the Venibe Plant, where he discussed with workers and engineering technicians the tasks of improving production, the conversion to full cost-accounting and self-financing, and improvement in the people's conditions of work, recreation, and daily living. R. I. Songayla also visited the Ukmerge department store, an exhibition of culinary products, and the rayon center for wedding ceremonies, where he conversed with workers on matters pertaining to commercial, cultural, and domestic services available to the people of the rayon.

Yu. M. Budrikis, first secretary of the Ukmergskiy Rayon party raykom, accompanied Comrade R. I. Songayla on his visit.

12889

**Songayla Speaks at Vilnius Gorkom Plenum**  
18000188 Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian  
6 Jan 88 pp 1,3

[ELTA report on Vilnius Gorkom Plenum, Lithuanian CP: "We Must Not Tarry; We must Not Bide Our Time"]

[Excerpts] The 9th Plenum of the Vilnius Gorkom, Lithuanian Communist Party [LiCP], took place on 4 January, during which the activity of its buro on supervising perestroika was discussed.

**R.I. Songayla, CPLi Central Committee first secretary, made a speech at the plenum:**

"Esteemed Comrades! Today's plenum of the city party committee is a most important event in the life of the capital's party organization," said Comrade R.I. Songayla. "The plenum also marks the completion of the accounting reports from the city's select party organs which provided political guidance for the perestroika.

"All the work of party committees, as Comrade M.S. Gorbachev repeatedly stressed, must now be subordinated to raising the activity of party organizations and working collectives to a level at which they may reliably achieve solution of the key questions at the second stage of perestroyka.

"And it is precisely from these positions that we must today evaluate the work of the buro of the Vilnius party gorkom.

"During the past year the plans for commodity product output and labor productivity were fulfilled in the city. The entire increase in production volume was derived by virtue of growth in labor productivity. And a trend has been noted toward improving the quality of manufactured products.

"But this is on the whole a 'gross output' approach to evaluating the work of the party gorkom. And if we were pleased with the results as of yesterday, today we are not. That which was achieved does not yet satisfy the tasks which now face the city party organization.

"According to preliminary data four industrial enterprises have not fulfilled the plan for product sales in accordance with contracts for delivery. Moreover, the number of enterprises in this category in the city is not declining.

"A major portion of the overall amount of the delivery shortfalls belongs to the collectives of the Komunaras and Zhalgiris radio component plants, among others. Moreover, some of these collectives have been in arrears since the start of the five-year plan.

"And oh, how many shortcomings there are in the work of the Elfa Production Association!

"One cannot reconcile perestroyka with the increasing amount of lost work time. Unfortunately, in comparison with the preceding year, losses per worker in industry and construction have increased somewhat; whereas, at certain enterprises they have increased several times over. And the most unsightly thing here is the fact that much of the lost work time is due to absenteeism. Last year a number of enterprises did not fulfill their plans for production costs, nor did they reduce losses from faulty workmanship.

"There has been serious neglect in work on placing enterprises and organizations on multi-shift work schedules. The shift-work factor for metal milling equipment is especially low at a number of industrial associations, at the Pretsizika Experimental Plant, at an experimental plant for technological equipment, and at a great number of other enterprises. And this, despite the fact that the state of affairs in this area has been repeatedly subjected to severe party criticism.

"Lack of progress has not been overcome in implementing the industrial policy and in strengthening the ties between science and manufacturing. There are often delays in carrying out the special-purpose comprehensive programs which have been worked out. Of the machine tools produced in the city, 70 percent do not meet world standards. The rate of replacement of equipment in machine building is low. There is no noticeable progress in increasing the effectiveness of development plans and in reducing the period for putting them into production. In the city as a whole, only 12 percent of the development plans were inventions.

"The gorkom is doing a poor job of dealing with questions of improving the work of construction organizations. Some of them are having difficulty in coping with their plans, and others such as the Monolit Planning and Construction Association, are systematically frustrating them.

"Since the beginning of the year over 40 enterprises have been operating wholly on a profit-and-loss and self-financing basis. About 70 percent of the industrial production is produced by these plants. But they have not yet been given the proper attention. It is especially unacceptable that the party gorkom and raykoms have in essence allowed to slip from their grasp how the workers, trade-union and other social organizations at the enterprises are dealing with all questions of profit and loss accounting.

"In solving important questions, some of the economic administrators lack firmness, initiative and adherence to principle; in certain cases they also lack the required knowledge of their rights and obligations which proceed from the Law on State Enterprises.

"There is basically only one conclusion which can be made from analysis of the economic situation in the city, as well as the course of the present discussion, and that is that one cannot solve new problems with old methods. The party gorkom, Comrade A.I. Chistyakov, and the secretaries of the party raykoms must become more deeply and concretely involved in the economy and in raising the economic factors in the growth of production.

"It is unacceptable for the departments of the party gorkom and raykoms to work poorly with the commissions which monitor the activity of the administration; and in their own activity they are not relying sufficiently on the primary party organizations.

"This situation must be changed. Party officials must not be inspectors and statisticians so much as competent organizers; they should produce less paper and put party decisions into effect more efficiently.

"Social questions, as previously stated, now require a great deal of attention. The people judge the real results of the restructuring primarily on improvements in their working conditions, on the operation of stores, domestic

services and transportation, and other changes in the social sphere. The housing problem is especially urgent. There is in essence no progress here. At the present time more than 35,000 people are on the waiting list for apartments.

"The city executive committee (A.P. Vileykis, chairman and member of the party gorkom buro) must develop both the direct labor method and individual housing construction, and must adopt specific, decisive actions in putting them into practice.

"The experience of the Zhalgiris plant and even that of such a small enterprise as the Nauyoyi-Verkyay Paper Factory shows that housing construction by means of the direct labor method is an important matter. But there are other problems as well.

"The problem of the regeneration of the Old City has also begun to make itself heard in recent times. The poor operation of municipal services, health care, transportation and telephone services have given rise to serious complaints. There are a great many shortcomings in trade, which were especially evident in the last days of December.

"As we can see, there are more than enough problems which require solution. The gorkom buro knows what they are. But it is not so good that they often try to take on these problems themselves instead of increasing their demands on the executive committees, on the economic administrators, and on other cadres. This approach must, of course, be changed.

"Comrades! The party organization of the capital city possesses great cadre potential. But I must frankly state that it is precisely in working with the cadres that there are still a great many omissions and shortcomings.

"The principal way to improve cadre work is to strengthen their democratic principles. However, this has not yet become common practice in the activities of the party gorkom and raykoms—and above all in activities with the reserve cadres.

"The fact that a number of communist administrators permit indiscipline and irresponsibility in their work is grounds for serious concern. They will eventually be punished for this, in accordance with party and administrative procedure, by the people's control organs. But at the same time, initiative as a rule proceeds from the top, and the party organizations before whom all this takes place are quite often more patient than they should be.

"Today the most important criterion by which the cadre should be judged is—achieving concrete results in perestroika. It is from this standpoint that the gorkom buro must place demands on the party raykoms and on everyone who has personal responsibility in questions of the selection, assignment and education of cadres.

"Comrades! The most rigid attention must be devoted to the qualitative improvement of ideological work. The attention of the party gorkom buro and its secretary, G.K. Shalyanena, must be focused on the fact that there have as yet been no significant changes in the ideological work of the party organization which measure up to the demands of the times. There is still considerable inertness here, and the main accent is being given to carrying out various measures rather than on stepping up individual work with specific people, which is the important thing to do at this time.

"In the city at present the struggle with various manifestations of bourgeois nationalism and clerical extremism is being waged poorly. Here there is quite often insufficient firmness and aggressiveness, and the ability to adopt non-standard, effective solutions is lacking. There is still a great tendency to wait for instructions from above.

"Confirmation of this is found in the attempt last August 23 by nationalist elements and clerical extremists to organize an antisoviet provocation in Vilnius. The workers of the city did not support this provocation, and it collapsed. At the same time one cannot help noticing that this venture by a group of persons with antisoviet tendencies also testifies to serious shortcomings in ideological educational work not only in the city party organization but also in the republic as a whole.

"The LiCP Central Committee has worked out a special-purpose program for strengthening ideological-class, international, patriotic and atheist education, and for increasing the aggressiveness of counter-propaganda work. We are correct in our belief that the Vilnius city party organization will set the example for the practical implementation of this program. The party gorkom will deliver a report to the LiCP Central Committee Plenum on what has been accomplished in this area.

"An exceptionally large amount of work, Comrades, must be commenced among the young people. Unfortunately, as yet the party gorkom has not succeeded in significantly increasing party influence in the matter of the city Komsomol organization. A number of Soviet and economic administrators are reluctant to meet half-way the valuable initiatives of the young people in organizing interesting recreation for the young people, and especially with respect to informal groups. There are also quite a few other unresolved problems in working with young people. This matter must be decisively corrected.

"In this connection one cannot help but notice that the measures taken by the party gorkom buro for implementing school reforms have thus far not provided significant restructuring, neither in the work of the public education departments, nor in many of the pedagogical collectives and party and Komsomol organizations at educational institutions. Thus far there are no tangible results in

increasing the quality of training and education of the elementary school pupils; and this, I must frankly state, has given rise to serious concern among us.

"The crime situation in the city testifies to the low level of effectiveness of ideological work and the party organization's activity on strengthening socialist legality, law and order.

"Especially alarming is the fact that activity in the struggle with alcoholism has declined in the city. As a result of this, an increase has been noted in the number of crimes committed by persons while in a state of intoxication. An increase has also been noted in the number of city residents making moonshine liquor. In no way can one acquiesce to such a situation.

"The leading role in carrying out the tasks for socio-economic and cultural development in the capital city of the republic belongs, of course, to the communists and to all the city's workers. Therefore, it is very important that work be seriously stepped up in every link—from the party gorkom buro to the primary party organization. The report and election meetings which took place, as well as the accounting reports from the party committees and party buro on the supervision of the perestroyka bear witness to the fact that in many organizations such an increase has not yet been implemented. Operating without sufficient initiative are the party organizations of the Pyargale Confectionery Works, the woodworking combine, the construction and repair administration of the housing construction and apartment repair trust, and others. At party meetings there is little openness, glasnost, and healthy dissatisfaction with what has been achieved.

"In this connection one cannot but note the fact that the demands on the part of the organizational department should have been more strict. Instead of specific steps toward resolution of important problems, the department essentially issued merely general appeals to the heads of the organizational departments of the party raykoms and to the secretaries of the party organizations. The work of the gorkom and the party raykoms must be well-coordinated.

"The party gorkom buro has not yet become sufficiently involved in organizational work on increasing the role of the gorkom members. They must be more often informed, and the buro must consult with them more frequently on the fundamental questions of the development of the city, and not present them with already adopted decisions as a fait accompli. The members of the gorkom are not very closely involved in work on monitoring the implementation of decisions, or in rendering concrete assistance to party raykoms and to the primary party organizations.

"It should be noted once more, that the significant shortcomings in the buro's work on supervision of the perestroyka apply also to the former gorkom first secretary, V.K. Mikuchyauskas. He at times lacked firmness, especially in resolving cadre questions. And he did not always display the proper demandingness toward the secretaries, department heads, or the administration of the gorispolkom. And this in turn had an adverse effect on the activity of both the party raykom and that of the rayispolkoms.

"The top priority task, Comrades, for the Vilnius party gorkom and its first secretary, K.V. Zaletskas, consists of assuming greater responsibility for carrying out their political role—guiding, coordinating, and providing impetus to the activity of the masses. The demands on you, Comrades, will be precisely the same in the future.

"The Vilnius city party organization is the largest in the republic. This places special responsibility on it. It is summoned to be the solid supporter of the LiCP Central Committee in resolving the urgent problems of perestroyka.

"Allow me to wish the party gorkom buro and all communists and workers in the city of Vilnius the best results in this quest."

The plenum adopted the appropriate resolution on the question under discussion.

09006

#### Problems, Corruption Noted in Uzbek Cotton Production

18300099a *Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA* in Russian  
13 Dec 87 p 1

[Excerpts from unattributed report: "In the Uzbek SSR Council of Ministers"]

[Excerpts] The Uzbek SSR Council of Ministers held a session on 10 December.

Instances of extremely gross violations with regard to the sowing area of agricultural crops and the procedure for selling cotton seeds at enterprises of the cotton-ginning industry were subjected to principled and rigorously demanding discussion at the Presidium session. Test measurements in 60 rayons with a planned sowing area of 1,408,500 hectares have revealed above-plan cotton sowings on 34,600 hectares, of which 10,000 hectares were concealed from the account records. The actual area under grain crops turned out to be 19,500 hectares in excess of the plan, including 6,200 hectares not indicated in the accounts. Some 8,100 hectares of vegetable and cucurbit crops and potatoes were sown in excess of the plan, of which 4,300 hectares were not included in the accounts.

For those areas specializing in growing cotton the per-rayon average of above-plan sowings amounted to 650 hectares. The most over-fulfillment of the plans for sowing cotton were permitted by farms of the Urgenchskiy Rayon (24.4 percent), Gurlenskiy Rayon (16.5 percent), Komsomolabadskiy Rayon (7.7 percent), Kamashinskiy Rayon (6.7 percent), Navbakhovskiy Rayon (5.8 percent), and the Payarykskiy Rayon (4.0 percent). On the Kolkhoz imeni Engels in the Urgenchskiy Rayon cotton sowings were planned for 1,027 hectares but actually amounted to 1,447 hectares, of which 1,400 were recorded in the accounts. Moreover, this farm was 35 hectares short in sowing fodder crops, and there was a non-plan plowing up of 26 hectares of alfalfa from past years. On the whole, the sown area turned out to be 518 hectares, or 34 percent, more than had been planned. Analogous violations were discovered on the Communism Kolkhoz, Gurlenskiy Rayon; Fiftieth Anniversary of the USSR Kolkhoz, Kamashinskiy Rayon; Leningrad Kolkhoz, Navbakhovskiy Rayon; as well as on the Sovkhoz imeni Avezov, Chimbayskiy Rayon; and the Kungrad Sovkhoz, Kungardskiy Rayon.

Soviet and agricultural organs in several rayons have slackened their attention to the problems of strengthening the fodder base of livestock raising. As a rule, the above-plan sowings of cotton were carried out to the detriment of the fodder crops and, in violation of established procedure, were located on lands which are undergoing preparation for reclamation. On the whole, for the kolkhozes and sovkhozes which were reviewed, the plan for sowing fodder crops was under-fulfilled by 9,500 hectares. There is a particularly large number of such farms in the Kara-Kalpak ASSR, as well as in the Kashka-Darya, Navoi, Surkhan-Darya, and Khorezm oblasts. Here, too, instances of distorting the account records were discovered. Thus, in the Gurlenskiy Rayon 848 hectares of non-existent sowings were recorded in the accounts; analogous figures were 577 hectares in the Voroshilovskiy Rayon and 343 hectares in the Kyzyltepinskiy Rayon.

The measurements also revealed numerous instances of above-plan sowings and concealing from the account records areas of vegetable-cucurbit crops and potatoes, which create conditions for squandering and stealing agricultural products. In the Samarkandskiy Rayon 453 out of the 458 above-plan hectares sown were thus concealed. Similar instances have taken place in the Nukusskiy, Denauskiy, and Yakkabagskiy rayons.

A particularly unsatisfactory situation with regard to the observance of plan discipline concerning areas sown in agricultural crops has taken shape in the Urgenchskiy, Gurlenskiy, Navbakorskiy, Navoiyskiy, Voroshilovskiy, Payarykskiy, Pakhtakovskiy, and certain other rayons. Their leading officials have not drawn the necessary conclusions from the decisions made by this republic's directorial organs and government with regard to eradicating instances of deceptive fraud and padding. They have failed to provide a principled evaluation of the violations which were discovered.

It was noted at the session that certain ispolkoms of local Soviets of People's Deputies have been too lax in monitoring the utilization of cotton seeds at cotton mills; they have not put a halt to instances of violations of established procedures, and in some cases have even facilitated such violations. Thus, the Guzarskiy Rayispolkom (Comrade Ulzhayev, deputy chairman), acting on its own, instructed the Guzarskiy Cotton Mill to let the rayon's kolkhozes and sovkhozes have 300 tons of cotton seeds for feeding their livestock.

The Presidium made it incumbent upon the Uzbek SSR Gosagroprom, the Kara-Kalpak ASSR Council of Ministers, obispolkoms, and rayispolkoms, as well as kolkhoz and sovkhoz directors, to adopt effective measures for strengthening plan discipline with regard to sowing areas, to eradicate without delay the intolerable instances of deceiving the state in accounting records and accountability, and to institute a strict procedure for land utilization.

It was pointed out to the chairman of the Kara-Kalpak ASSR Council of Ministers (Comrade Yadgarov) and the chairmen of the ispolkoms of the Khorezm (Comrade Khudaybergenova), Navoi (Comrade Aydarkulov), and Kashka-Darya (Comrade Kadin) Oblast Soviets of People's Deputies that numerous extremely gross violations in account records and accountability with regard to sowing areas are continuing to occur on kolkhozes and sovkhozes.

A resolution was adopted recommending that the Navoiyskiy, Navbakhovskiy, Pakhtakovskiy, Voroshilovskiy, Leninabadskiy, Urgenchskiy, Gurlenskiy, Payarykskiy, and Guzarskiy Rayon Soviets of People's Deputies examine the responsibility of the following rayispolkom chairmen for allowing kolkhozes and sovkhozes to distort the state accounts with regard to the sowing areas of agricultural crops: Comrades Khudayberdyev, Alikulov, Nasirov, Volkov, Saparov, Madaminov, Matkarimov, Karshiyev, Achkasov, and the persons who committed these violations.

2384

**Resolution on Improving Uzbek Cotton Production Program**  
18300099b Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian  
22 Dec 87 p 1

[Resolution of the Seventh Plenum of the Uzbek CP Central Committee: "On the Tasks Assigned to the Republic's Party Organization with regard to Carrying out the Directives of the CPSU Central Committee on the Development of Cotton Growing in the Uzbek SSR and the Elimination of Serious Shortcomings in This Sector"]

[Text] Having discussed the tasks assigned to the republic's party organization with regard to carrying out the directives of the CPSU Central Committee on serious

shortcomings in the development of cotton growing in the Uzbek SSR, the Plenum of the Uzbek CP Central Committee notes that the CPSU Central Committee's directives on this matter are of fundamental importance for accelerating Uzbekistan's economic and social development and increasing its contribution to the country's national-economic complex. The unsatisfactory state of affairs in this republic's leading sector requires that party, soviet, and economic organs radically restructure their supervisory style and methods, make the transition to economic management methods, and elaborate large-scale measures for bringing cotton growing, as well as the entire agroindustrial complex, up to a modern-day scientific and technical level.

Implementation of the course aimed at eradicating negative phenomena, as well as at strengthening good organization and discipline have enabled us to halt the development of stagnant processes and negative tendencies in cotton growing. Restructuring the procurement system and converting to calculations based on the end product—fiber—have had a positive effect on increasing the output of cotton production and on strengthening the economy of farms.

However, analysis has shown that no radical changes have occurred in the process of cotton growing. Its present-day level does not measure up to the republic's actual possibilities nor to those enormous sums of money which the state has invested in the development of this important sector.

The conservative approaches which have taken root over the years with regard to directing the agroindustrial complex are holding us back from overcoming the stagnant phenomena and hindering us from carrying out the radical restructuring of this sector within a briefer time period. Leading officials and specialists in many oblasts, rayons, and farms, as well as republic-level organs, continue to have a negligent attitude toward the recommendations of science and their own experience regarding the adoption of cotton and alfalfa crop rotations and the use of other factors for intensifying cotton growing. They are making poor use of the natural-climate and enormous production potentials.

The republic's Gosagroprom and the Central Asian Department of VASKhNIIL have intolerably delayed organizing the introduction of scientifically based crop rotations and intensive technologies on the republic's farms. Scientific institutions have not worked vigorously enough on protecting the selection and seed growing of cotton plants nor on improving the use of fertilizers and the means of protecting plants. The level of machine picking, mechanization, and other labor-consuming operations remains low. Nor has the acuteness of the land-reclamation problem been eliminated.

In rural areas too little attention is being paid to the comprehensive solution of cultural and everyday problems. Party organizations and economic managers

underestimate the fact that improving the state of affairs in this sector depends, to a large extent, on paying more attention to human beings, and on creating proper conditions of work and daily life for them.

Party obkoms and raykoms have been too slow in restructuring their own work; they have not directed the efforts of the primary party organizations at increasing the section's efficiency based on introducing economic management methods. In the activity of the leading officials and specialists of this republic's Gosagroprom, as well as its local organs, kolkhozes, and sovkhozes, the inertia of the old approaches, the command-pressure style, and the attempt to solve economic problems by administrative methods still predominate. On most farms the brigade and/or family contract is being introduced in a pro forma manner. The shop structure of management, check (i.e., monetary) form of monitoring expenditures, and wages keyed to gross revenue are being introduced too slowly. As a result, production surpluses are increasing, and many farms remain at a low-profile or even operate at a loss. All this delays the conversion of farms to cost accounting, self-support, and self-financing.

Party committees are insufficiently concerned with strengthening all production units with skilled personnel who show initiative; they fail to render them enough help in mastering up-to-date management methods. Unjustified changes in kolkhoz chairmen and sovkhoz directors are frequently permitted. Despite the acute shortage of machine-operating personnel, the plan for training them is not fulfilled year after year.

The presence of serious shortcomings and omissions in the development of cotton growing are explainable, to a large extent, by the fact that the republic's party and soviet organs have been intolerably slow in restructuring this sector's management in accordance with the demands made by the April (1985) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee. Many primary party organizations at kolkhozes and sovkhozes, as well as other units of the agroindustrial complex have not yet become the truly militant vanguard of restructuring.

The Plenum of the Uzbek CP Central Committee hereby resolves that:

1. The Uzbek CP Central Committee Buro, Uzbek SSR Council of Ministers, party obkoms and raykoms, plus the ispolkoms of local soviets must carry out the necessary organizational and political work on ensuring a cardinal improvement of matters in cotton growing and putting it on a scientific foundation. Moreover, they must proceed on the basis that cotton growing constitutes the leading sector of this republic's national economy, the decisive factor in its socioeconomic development, and Uzbekistan's chief contribution to the country's national economy.

It must be taken into consideration that the Uzbek SSR Council of Ministers has elaborated measures to accelerate the development of cotton growing, measures which have been brought to the attention of every person performing this work and every labor collective.

2. It is to be considered one of the top-priority tasks assigned to party and soviet organs, agroindustrial committees and associations to ensure the complete assimilation of cotton-alfalfa crop rotations on all cotton-growing farms by 1990 and, on this basis, to achieve an increase in high-grade fodder production, considerable acceleration in the development of livestock raising, and substantial improvement in supplying the population with meat, milk, vegetables, and other products.

3. The republic's Gosagroprom, its local organs, and the Central Asian Department of VASKhNIL must complete their development of scientifically based recommendations with regard to introducing cotton-alfalfa crop rotations with reclaimed fields and intensive technology for cultivating cotton plants, and providing kolkhozes and sovkhozes with them prior to the beginning of the 1988 sowing campaign. The party oblast committees and obispolkoms must adopt the necessary measures and set up strict monitoring controls over their introduction in such amounts and by such deadlines as would ensure for the republic as a whole the attainment of cotton-growing areas using intensive technology of as much as 260,000 hectares in 1988 and as much as 460,000 hectares by the end of the five -year plan.

4. The republic's Gosagroprom, the Central Asian Department of VASKhNIL, and the Uzbek SSR Academy of Sciences must adopt effective measures to integrate the efforts of scientific institutions for the purpose of accelerating scientific developments in seed growing and selection in order to create rapidly maturing, highly productive varieties of cotton plants, resistant to diseases and pests, and processing high-quality fiber.

Party and soviet organs in the localities must decisively interdict instances of violations of the plan for distributing varieties by region and those with good future prospects.

5. All measures must be taken to raise the level of the machine picking of cotton, based on improving the use of existing equipment and creating new, improved equipment as rapidly as possible; we must provide machines for picking at least 60 percent of the harvest.

The Council for Facilitating Scientific and Technical Progress must concentrate the efforts of the Inter-Sectorial Scientific and Technical Center, as well as those of other scientific draft-design organizations, on the fastest possible invention of new, highly productive cotton -picking equipment; the Central Scientific Research Institute for the Cotton Industry and the Signal Scientific Production Association must accelerate the creation of instruments for the rapid analysis of raw cotton.

The Uzbek SSR Gosagroprom must implement measures to increase the amount of technical equipment at cotton-processing enterprises and particularly at procurement centers, accelerate the putting into production of new cotton gins and comprehensive drying-and-cleaning equipment which will ensure a high quality of cotton products.

The republic's Academy of Sciences, as well as party and soviet organs, must assist inventors of new equipment, utilizing for this purpose the possibilities of enterprises and organizations situated on the republic's territory.

6. The Uzbek SSR Gosagroprom and the Central Asian Department of VASKhNIL must jointly disseminate the experience of Namangan, Syr-Darya, and Dzhizak oblasts with regard to using biological and integrated methods of protecting plants in order to sharply reduce the amount of toxic chemicals put onto the fields.

They must finish working out agrochemical maps and provide recommendations for increasing the efficiency of utilizing organic and mineral fertilizers. The Uzbek SSR Academy of Sciences must concentrate its forces and raise the level of research in order to obtain an effective and harmless defoliant during the next two or three years.

7. The Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources and the Main Administration for Sovkhoz Construction in Central Asia, in conjunction with the republic's Gosagroprom, must implement a program of radically improving irrigated lands and increasing their fertility; they must allocate for this purpose at least 70 percent of the funds earmarked for reclamation. They must achieve the effective utilization of the funds allotted for this purpose. They must actively introduce into irrigation and reclamation the achievements of scientific and technical progress and water-conserving irrigation technologies.

Departments of the Central Committee along with party obkoms and raykoms must set up strict monitoring controls on the execution of the entire complex of water-resource and agro-engineering operations.

8. The Uzbek SSR Council of Ministers, ispolkoms of local soviets, trade-union and economic organs must solve the problems of increasing cotton growing inextricably tied in with the social restructuring of the village. Special attention must be paid to carrying out a program of housing, cultural, and consumer-service construction, plus creating the necessary conditions for the rural laborers' work and everyday life. Prior to the end of the five-year plan the Main Administration for Sovkhoz Construction in Central Asia must complete the construction of social, everyday-service, and production facilities for sovkhozes on the virgin lands.

The Fergana, Andizhan, and Namangan party obkoms must adopt more effective measures with regard to ensuring the migration of laborers and the best specialists to the virgin-land regions. The party, soviet, and economic organs of Kashka-Darya, Syr-Darya, and Dzhizak oblasts must create conditions for retaining such migrants.

9. Party obkoms and raykoms, along with primary party organizations must increase the responsibility of personnel at all levels for the practical mastery of economic management methods. They must provide for the mass instruction of rank-and-file laborers, specialists, and farm managers in economic work methods and advanced technologies. They must achieve the genuine introduction of contract forms of organizing labor, shop structures of production, and cost accounting. They must be more active in carrying out preparations for converting kolkhozes and sovkhozes to self-support and self-financing.

10. The republic's party committees must improve their work with the personnel of the agroindustrial complex. They must be bolder in promoting to responsible sections the young specialists, competent employees capable of organizing and intelligently conducting matters under the new management conditions. They must impart a genuinely democratic nature to personnel work, take all measures to develop glasnost, and take into consideration more fully the opinions of the labor collectives in solving urgent problems.

11. Party committees must channel the efforts of all means of psychological influence on a profound and multifaceted implementation of restructuring in the village.

The editors of the republic-level newspapers and journals, the Uzbek State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting, and all mass information media must expose and subject to broad-based glasnost

instances of mismanagement, conservatism, and stagnation. They must propagandize progressive experience in the cause of raising cotton growing to a qualitatively new level and intensifying the entire agroindustrial complex.

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The Uzbek CP Central Committee Plenum expresses the firm confidence that the communists and all the agricultural laborers of this republic will apply their efforts, knowledge, and experience to accelerate the development of cotton growing and will ensure the execution of the tasks assigned by the CPSU Central Committee.

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#### **Tajik Raykom First Secretary Acknowledges 'Regionalism' Conflicts**

18300131a [Editorial Report] Dushanbe KOMMUNIST TADZHIKISTANA in Russian on 14 January 1988 carries on page 4 a 2000-word report by G. Papyrina, KOMMUNIST TADZHIKISTANA special correspondent, headlined "Not an Economic Meeting," on a Gissarskiy Raykom Plenum meeting in which First Secretary Kh. Kasymov accepts the blame for the "regionalism" conflicts in his rayon that had been addressed by the Tajik Central Committee Buro the day before. (Dushanbe KOMMUNIST TADZHIKISTANA on 12 January 1988 carried on page 1 an article which reported that on 14 December 1987 a large group of Gissarskiy Rayon inhabitants went to a Tajik Central Committee reception demanding the removal of Raykom First Secretary Kasymov on the grounds that the Raykom Buro was acting against the interests of the indigenous inhabitants of Gissarskiy Rayon.) "Yes," admitted Kasymov, opening the plenum. "The blame in the economic, social, and spiritual sphere, and the ideological-political situation in the rayon, fully lies with me, the secretaries, the buro, and the raykom party apparatus. There are still many miscalculations and shortcomings in our work, and we carry the party responsibility for them."

**Chief Editors Discuss Perestroyka Problems In Journalism**

*18300082a Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 8 Dec 87 p 2*

[Unattributed report on the 3rd Plenum of the Board of the USSR Union of Journalists: "Perestroyka: The Journalist's Responsibility and Competence"]

[Text] On the eve of the 3rd Plenum of the Board of the USSR Union of Journalists at the CPSU Central Committee, a meeting of the heads of the central and republic media and workers in the fields of culture and science was held; that meeting pertained to those individuals' work at a new stage of perestroyka, under conditions of the development of democratization and radical economic reform. The meeting was addressed by A. N. Yakovlev, Politburo member and CPSU Central Committee secretary. He devoted considerable attention in his speech to the tasks of the press, which should receive new inspiration under the new conditions.

Glasnost is a firm course, he noted, and the Central Committee has no intention of deviating from it. We will continue to defend journalists from unfounded accusations and persecution in the most resolute manner. But the time has come to speak with complete frankness and honesty about the other side of the problem as well. Too often of late journalists' lack of professional competence, negligence, lack of conscientiousness in the preparation of articles and half-hearted work have actually harmed the causes of glasnost and perestroyka. As you are aware, accuracy is not a favor, but rather a journalist's duty. Knowledge of the facts and knowledge of the subject about which one writes is the key requirement when any statement is aired or printed.

That is why the plenum included serious and in-depth discussion of the problems of journalistic work. The perestroyka under way in our country requires that newspaper people have a heightened sense of social responsibility, professional competence and unprecedented creative output.

Excerpts from the report presented by V. Chikin, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee, secretary of the board of the USSR Union of Journalists and editor-in-chief of the newspaper SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA, as well as from several other speeches given at the plenum, are presented in abridged form below.

V. Chikin, editor-in-chief of SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA: Today's plenum takes place at an exceptionally important period, the period separating the culminating act of the 70th anniversary of the October Revolution from the beginning of the decisive stage of perestroyka under new economic conditions. This is a moment of energetic preparations, rallying of forces and orientation of party ranks toward the All-Union Party Conference.

I feel that our plenum as well, our discussion here today concerning journalistic perestroyka, can also be put into the context of this periodic party self-analysis; the success with which we aid democratization and introduction of economic reforms in the new stage will to a great extent depend on the our level of self-criticism, adherence to principle, sense of responsibility and constructive approach.

Of course, it is easy for us to give an account of our work: every day the efforts of our minds, hearts and hands are printed in editions of tens of millions and broadcast to audiences of hundreds of millions. It is immediately evident who is in step with the times and who is going in circles. And feedback is equally instantaneous. Those working in the field of journalism have little reason to complain: on every one of the thousand days which have passed since April 1985 we have sensed the careful attention and constant support of the party. On more than one occasion the leaders of the Central Committee have given in-depth, objective and inspiring evaluations of our work at high-level meetings, plenums and the party congress. You are quite familiar with those evaluations.

In addition, there have already been not just one, but two mass "referendums" at subscription renewal time. We can take pride in readers' sharply increased interest and confidence. We should not forget that in the current situation this renewed interest is primarily a result of an ever more aroused social consciousness among the masses, and of rising expectations of change. To some extent it may also be the result of readers' usual weakness for the lure of sensation. Some people may be attracted by the possible furor over "explosive" articles. And some publications have attracted the curious merely by taking on a new look.

There are other press organs which not only do nothing to attract anyone, but which have actually begun over the past year to print fewer articles which would arouse public opinion. Yet their readership — a huge readership equal, perhaps, to half the readers of all oblast newspapers — remains loyal. A paradox! I believe that this is a paradox of the transition period. The coming years of social realignment will bring everything into proper balance. The party press and our journalists' union should see to that. The interests of social renewal and of the political and spiritual formation of the masses, especially the working masses, demand a responsible attitude toward the way we handle such a gigantic readership. The current simple salad of bulletins and reports should be replaced by nourishment which has ideological and intellectual content. That is the kind of nourishment which can provide energy for the primary force of the current perestroyka: labor collectives.

In order to get a realistic idea of the status of a publication's distribution and, more importantly, its usefulness — whether it is enlightening or stultifying people with certain articles, whether it is unifying or dividing,

whether it is optimizing the atmosphere or sowing nihilistic sentiments — in order to get a clear picture of all this we must, as Vladimir Ilich was fond of saying, "seek the facts," i.e. research our readership. Some editorial boards have done and are continuing to do this, even utilizing sociological methods. But what happens is that primitive methods and irregularity nullify the positive effects of these attempts. Especially since the findings of the studies are not incorporated in the operations of our creative union. It is very regrettable that we, an influential organization, have no scientific data concerning the effectiveness of influence by various press organs on our country's readers; concerning the motivations for reader loyalty; concerning the dynamism of interests and preferences; concerning what makes a paper convincing; etc.

Perhaps it is time for our union to have its own full-fledged sociological laboratory, capable of providing valuable material both for the needs of our union and for the needs of editorial boards, for specific political calculations in our long-range work. Of course, the laboratory would not be a cozy but meaningless position or a sinecure for retired docents, but actually a working sociological center with informed experts and firm ties to the State Statistical Committee and the Institute for Sociological Research, one which would make skillful use of cost-accounting practices. Most importantly, its findings should not merely have retail value, but also be valuable to the consumer. In short, we cannot continue to work "blind" with the readership or employ crude estimates.

At this time it is probably still too soon to sum up the results of perestroika in our profession. We have reaped only the first harvest from the seeds of glasnost sown in April. Many editorial collectives are only now really beginning a creative search: a search for their own image and voice, their place and sphere of influence, an attempt to acquire their own inner constitution and a thematic program rich in content under the new conditions.

When discussing the clearly expressed features of journalistic perestroika it is best to begin with Central Television. The impressions of the viewer on his couch: from a time of deception, a time of lulling, staged illusions that all was well, he has been thrown into a world of realities and passions.

The boundaries of the information genre have shifted decisively. There are no taboo subjects. Matters of current urgency are being examined. Television reporters are fighting in the trenches of perestroika. They are fighting for every inch of ground. A critical and constructive approach is television workers' primary tool. Even the new program "Prozhektor perestroyki" [Restructuring Searchlight] has become essential in our lives; it has attracted attention by its wit, publicistic orientation and effectiveness.

Or consider TASS and the editorial staff of our national information agency; among other things, we now see a sharp contrast to what we were seeing just two years ago. Undoubtedly one major factor in that was the Central Committee's discussion of TASS's account at the end of 1985. During the past two years we have seen something quite new: the creative side of our colleagues. Abundance and diversity of materials, a differentiated approach to information processing, and always something about current issues on the wire. Keen political commentaries. Instantaneous reactions. Polemical reporting. Analytical articles. Ongoing investigations. Now we do "follow-ups" on TASS articles. When was the last time that happened? TASS has had life breathed into it again, and now it is taking a deep breath. People themselves have resolved to make their lives more complex and discovered a colossal resource.

Furthermore I would like to invite all of you to think about your personal responsibility both for unswerving reorganization of editorial work in line with party requirements and for those tender shoots of public consciousness which are springing up under our influence.

We remember how high the April wave lifted our press on its crest. Every exposure and every resounding word was pored over and hailed by readers and viewers. And we tended to mistake a resounding word for a penetratingly resonant voice. But obviously there was not enough breath for that. The first wave subsided, perestroika resolutely proceeded to gain depth, and the weakness of those first rootlets was revealed. Most of all perestroika laid bare the schematic, unfounded nature of our knowledge, the gap between that knowledge and real life; our inability to comprehend the revolutionary nature of what was occurring, to see and predict the dynamics of the processes which were taking place.

The party has proposed a new understanding and a new way of thinking to us. In the span of just 30 months (of which the key months were: April 1985, February 1986 and January, June and November 1987) we have gotten as many new ideas and concepts as we had accumulated in all our lives theretofore, at all our universities. Profound discoveries, extreme revelations. We looked at our appraisals of history, phenomena and individuals, the state of society, and the real outlook for development.

Did we prove equal to these riches? Did we even begin to put our thoughts and arguments into a functional context? In a recently published speech A. N. Yakovlev convincingly demonstrated to our readership that we have accomplished very, very little so far.

Seeing and understanding the image of new things. Traversing the road to those things at an accelerated pace. Making those new things a permanent part of our lives is to stabilize the success of perestroika. Are we taking that objective and task to heart, and are we succeeding in accomplishing it? We have taken it to

heart, but we are very far from accomplishing it completely. Of course, it would be unfair not to note innovative efforts by some central, republic and oblast publications, which have boldly tackled major current problems pertaining to economic and social development and have promoted new forms of labor.

But let us be self-critical and look at our editorial ranks with a critical eye. Just imagine what successes we could achieve if all of our journalists were working on acute contemporary problems, rather than just a narrow circle of publicists, editors and correspondent! It seems unlikely that there are people who would avoid those topics, but it is true: there are individuals among us who have yet to write a single word in support of perestroika.

If only we were always consistent in the implementation of our policies, in realization of our plans, in the performance of our obligations to our readers! In terms of wastefulness and futility an unfinished job at a newspaper is just as bad as an unfinished construction project. If our professional level were to rise by a notch or two our work would be more intensive, and the quality of our articles would be higher the first time around.

There are quite a few of these "if onlys" ... Above all it is you and I, the locomotives of the journalistic movement, who are at fault if our conciliatory obedience has not been transformed into an imperative stance. There has been a lack of content and persistence in our personal organizational and directorial work.

In some publications our colleagues are stymied by timidity stemming from the curse of half-knowledge and fear of the uncharted economic sphere. Usually they slip into the accustomed routine of production reports and dutiful analyses and promises. This timidity can be overcome, if we give ample access to our pages to people with a new way of thinking, economic experience and organizational talent.

Recently one colleague seeking certification complained, explaining his complete lack of knowledge of economics, that "there is no need to study," because conventional wisdom is lagging behind the sweeping changes occurring in our lives today. Perhaps it is lagging behind, but that is not the cause of our ignorance. It results from our traditional Oblomov-like approach, lulled as we were by the superficial omniscience and intellectual parasitism born of a complex of groundlessness...

Since we have already brought up the subject, I would like to say that on the whole we have a far-flung, functioning system of cadre training and retraining at the national, republic, kray and oblast levels. That system functions through VUZs, party schools and special courses. It encompasses the conducting of all-union and regional creative seminars, summer schools, contests and raids. But to a great extent this system can no longer meet present-day needs. Often lessons at the seminars

follow a rut worn by decades of use and contribute little toward achieving the most important goal: perestroika of the journalists themselves to suit the new conditions.

We need to take decisive measures to update the content of such events and create new forms of creative mutual assistance. At the initiative of the Propaganda Department a unique institute of "newspaper coaches" is now in operation. Good, but superimposed. And why have we not organized a broad program to bring newspaper workers from the periphery to the center for study? Or why not, at the board's discretion, open several perestroika laboratories in editorial offices? Or why not assign journalists who have accumulated a great deal of experience during the past two-and-one-half years to spend a semester giving courses on subject matter and genre? In short, we need to seek success in retraining through practical application.

All-union seminars of the heads of rayon and city newspapers conducted in Moscow have generated interest. We receive quite a few applications from local areas. The Union of Journalists is striving to introduce new practices and methods in the work of journalists. This refers to the so-called "business games," "roundtables" and "homework," combined with subsequent discussion by specialists, surveys and analysis by instructors from the Moscow State University Department of Journalism of the language and style used in the newspapers published by seminar participants. What has the result been? The board staff has had difficulty determining that. When party organs and journalists' organizations at the local level send people off to study they do not always urge them to actually study, regarding the time instead as a sort of incentive trip to the capital. There are almost no individuals from the promotion pool among seminar participants. Our union has almost no information concerning the further creative careers of participants.

The lack of specialized literature is a serious concern. The Mysl Publishing House still lacks a full-time editorial staff for the preparation and publication of literature on the theory, history and practice of mass media work, the methodology and labor organization of people working in the press, textbooks, educational materials and reference books, as well as anthologies of journalists' best publicistic works. In addition, the literature published previously is now to a large extent outdated.

Today life is propelling us toward the decisive fronts of the common struggle for perestroika. And no matter what aspect of our journalistic preparedness for that struggle we consider, we see a need to update our armaments. Ideologically, morally and professionally. And that updating should of course take place on that general human basis which the party has instilled in us. As we restructure and review our entire journalistic arsenal we will renounce methods which are unsuitable, dilapidated or ethically or politically outdated. But it would be an irresponsible error to reject everything and

disarm completely as the attack gets under way. Furthermore, among journalists we sometimes hear statements like these: "The party talks to us about the lofty moral duty to participate selflessly in social renewal, but some of our colleagues say that such participation is a right, and attach numerous conditions to that right."

The most important thing is that each of us can name his or her fellow workers by name. All of them have honestly served the party to the extent of their talent, without being seduced by any intellectual or political subservience, and served the people, supporting their best desires and worthiest traits, cultivating the future leaders of perestroika.

Speaking on social responsibility, A. Stetsiv, department chief of the Lvov Oblast newspaper LENINSKA MOLOD, noted among other things that at the local level social responsibility is often confused with submissive behavior toward administrators. She cited a typical example: in a certain village in the Western Ukraine the rayispolkom decided to tear down a church, a 17th century monument of architecture listed in the catalog "Monuments of the Ukraine," merely because a kolkhoz had built its kindergarten next to the church.

The church was condemned as structurally unsound, but it turned out to be difficult to remove. Part of the building was torn down, and one night the rest was doused with gasoline and set afire. Also burned were centuries-old oaks which had survived more than one war. All these actions provoked a strong public response. A correspondent wrote an article, but it was not published. The administration felt that harm would be done if "the whole oblast found out about it."

Yes, perestroika is a difficult job. The plenum discussed the role played in that task by local organizations of the Union of Journalists. It was noted that unfortunately that role is still a small one. Often the creative union merely duplicates the work of the party obkom's press sector or, even more unfortunately, serves as its errand boy, preparing various reports and overviews.

"As someone involved in industry I would naturally like to talk about the subject of production as presented in newspapers," said A. Baranov, editor-in-chief of the newspaper SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRYIA, in his speech. "We have already talked about the problems of economic intensification, but nowhere, in no other sphere of economic activity, has there been such a wide gap between words and actions. At the present time all our journalistic abilities and means are being employed toward narrowing that gap. We have conducted numerous actions in the North around Tyumen in order to achieve practical results."

But, the speaker noted, not without difficulty. For example, at a meeting of the board of the USSR Ministry of the Petroleum Industry at which a newspaper action

consisting of 50 articles was discussed one main administration head was singled out and asked why he had not responded to the newspaper articles. The head admitted that he had not read them, because he did not subscribe to the publication in question.

My colleagues are having a hard time, the editor-in-chief emphasized. Recently there has been greater resistance to newspapers of all types on the part of the party aktiv and party leaders; there has been increasing resistance to glasnost. One staff correspondent after another sends notice to our newspaper: "Esteemed editor-in-chief, I have been subjected to pressure here..."

This alarming issue was also mentioned in speeches by other plenum participants. In particular, A. Loginova, editor of the rayon newspaper ZARYA KOMMUNIZMA in Kalinin Oblast, spoke of the muteness of her paper: "We are fighting for our own voice. But I continue to be troubled by the question of why we have to carry on such a bitter struggle sometimes. When will the mechanisms outlined by the Central Committee with regard to the press and glasnost finally take effect?"

The factory newspapers are in an even more difficult position.

This was discussed by A. Tyutyugina, correspondent for the factory newspaper GOLOS STROITELYA (Tatar ASSR). In order to increase the effectiveness of that press organ and make it more militant, she proposed, there is an obvious need to merge factory newspapers, either on a sectorial or regional basis, in order to remove them from the control of narrow economic interests. For example, in Kazan there are approximately 10 student newspapers. Why not use them as the basis for the creation of a single VUZ press organ? Under the Tatneft Association in Almetevsk and other cities there are eight factory newspapers. It would require neither special material outlays nor additional personnel to merge them into a single weekly. And such a weekly could serve to forge a collective capable of thinking on a grand scale and operating in step with the spirit of the times.

The problems of the children's press was discussed at the plenum by O. Grekova, editor-in-chief of PIONERSKAYA PRAVDA. For us it is very important, she noted, in addition to talking with children about the things which concern them and answering the questions which trouble them, also to help them affirm and realize themselves and perceive the world in all its complexity. PIONERSKAYA PRAVDA received over 700,000 letters this year. Many of them contained alarming, quite un-childlike questions.

"'We lack information,' write Pioneers in the 4th and 5th grades. We prepare for political information days on the basis of 'Arguments and Facts'. Despite the fact that at times Pioneers possess a colossal amount of information, they often lack a sense of civic duty, maturity and the ability to determine the correct action to take on the

basis of what they know. Suffice it to say that in 1,200 critical comments turned in at oblast- and republic-level rallies there were only eight specific proposals as to what should be done in a given situation."

I. Panov, editor-in-chief of KRASNAYA ZVEZDA, presented in his speech a detailed and alarming picture of the times in which we live. He paid tribute to the clear vision of those journalists who can sense the vital significance of the problem of war and peace for our country and for the entire planet. He noted that articles dealing with military history, army life and military-patriotic education have become markedly more interesting and incisive.

The army is a microcosm of society. Everything in life is intertwined. A frontline veteran cannot get a telephone installed, an apartment on the first floor cannot be found for a legless internationalist soldier, a mass military grave a hundred meters from a youth dormitory disappears out of neglect, Poklonnaya Gora is a cul-de-sac, a warehouse in a building that once housed a revolutionary committee, vandalism of barracks, and the monopoly of rock on the screen. We journalists should vigilantly observe and evaluate all these things.

Of a number of specific problems which are typical of the press today, V. Voronov, acting deputy editor-in-chief of VECHERNIY LENINGRAD, focused on the nature of relations between the local press and the central press. The touchstone by which those relations should be tested is informal associations. What is the attitude toward them? The speaker was of the opinion that the official point of view should be supported. He was not in agreement with IZVESTIYA, which criticized city authorities in an article on informal associations. There is nothing terrible in the fact that newspapers on different levels and with different interpretations and ways of presenting the facts disagreed in their appraisal of events. But we need to disagree respectfully, not as if any one of us had a corner on the truth.

Despite our differing weight categories, the speaker stressed, let us disagree in a cultivated manner, without overstepping the bounds of democracy. Perestroyka only stands to gain by it.

"I did not intend to speak," said I. Laptev, editor-in-chief of IZVESTIYA, "but the statement by my Leningrad colleague that our newspaper's article was tantamount to incitement forces me to take the floor in order to register a protest here before this assembly against labeling of this sort. If we are going to talk about mutual respect and the ability to conduct a polemical debate, then we must also be able to conduct it in our oral statements as well as in our newspapers."

Currently there are quite a few very complex phenomena occurring in our lives, and it is equally difficult for both central and local newspapers to cope with them. We are seeking the truth together, and in all probability none of

us is error-free. And there can be all kinds of approaches, and that includes approaches to informal associations. Currently there are more than 30,000 such associations in our country. Many of them are highly amorphous and function in varying ways, without taking any clear-cut stances of their own. But they are an expression of the specific nature of the times, of popular initiative, and we need to give them adequate attention. Because bans, on which some leaders are still so keen, cause nothing but harm.

The opinion that the local press (oblast, city and rayon newspapers) is lagging behind the central newspapers in terms of its incisiveness and militancy is a commonly accepted one, noted speaker A. Bavykin, editor of the oblast newspaper POLYARNAYA ZVEZDA (Murmansk). And that is in fact true. But what has caused that gap?

Naturally a great deal depends on the quality of contacts between party committees and the press. But is that the only thing? POLYARNAYA ZVEZDA reported an outlandish incident in Murmansk. A bunch of riff-raff (exactly what they were) decided to use the military monument in the Valley of Glory for target practice. The incisive, publicistic article attracted the attention of SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA. At that newspaper's request the journalist also wrote an article for them. Then another central newspaper jumped on the topic, as did television and the magazine YUNOST... Two years have passed, but an echo remains: a few days ago All-Union Radio reported the incident.

And what was the result for the oblast? A harsh conclusion was drawn without much consideration of the matter: allegedly Murmansk had fallen down on the job of military-patriotic education. And the obkom had to explain itself and write responses... We can hardly expect the obkom to react with delight to criticism in the future.

Our creative union, said Ye. Ryabchikov, a well-known publicist, has gotten its second wind, begun a new life: we have established a journalists' fund and a veterans' council, and VESTNIK has begun to be published in eight-column format... All that is good. But is it not possible for the Union of Journalists, which should be one of the mainsprings of perestroyka, to have its own organ, one which would help us grow and pass on our experience? We train thousands of journalists at university departments and in various courses — and all of them study from outdated textbooks. We are talking about new equipment costing millions, yet we at the same time we are forgetting about the creative side of our work, our palette of genres.

Also addressing the meeting were: K. Duyseyev, editor of the republic newspaper SOTSIALISTIK KAZAKHSTAN; P. Sutko, editor of the oblast newspaper ZORYA (Brest); I. Spodarenko, editor of the republic newspaper SILSKI

VISTI (Kiev); I. Kazantsev, editor of the republic newspaper PRAVDA BURYATII; R. Zeynalov, chairman of the board of the AzSSR Union of Journalists; and V. Matveyev, IZVESTIYA political commentator.

V. N. Sevruk, deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee's Propaganda Department, attended the plenum.

As the resolution passed by the plenum of the board of the USSR Union of Journalists notes: it is the duty of journalists to struggle resolutely against manifestations of a conservative attitude toward perestroyka and social demagoguery, and to expose the roots of those phenomena. Journalistic organizations should raise the standards which they require of their members with regard to quality of articles, not allowing a single case of distortion of the truth or violation of professional ethics to go uninvestigated.

12825

### Western Analyses of Central Asian Sovietization Rebutted

18300088 *Dushanbe KOMMUNIST TADZHIKISTANA*  
in Russian 16 Dec 87 p 3

[Article by G. Balikoyev, senior teacher in the Department of History of the CPSU and Political Economy of the Tajik Pedagogical Institute of Russian Language and Literature, candidate of history: "Against the Fabrications of Anti-Sovietism"]

[Text] In a situation of intensifying ideological confrontation, the Leninist precepts and methods of the exposure of the bourgeois falsifications of history and the policy of the CPSU acquire increasingly great significance. This found reflection in the new edition of the Party Program, in which the necessity of waging an uncompromising struggle against bourgeois and reformist ideology and open anti-communist propaganda was emphasized.

In recent times, the ideologists of imperialism increasingly often select as the chief object of single-minded attacks the Leninist nationality policy, pursuing certain purposes. First of all, bourgeois propaganda strives to slander the theory and the Program of the Communist Party in regard to the national question, to demonstrate its supposedly unrealizable and absurd character. Secondly, to sow the seeds of distrust, hostility and dissension between individual peoples and in the end to undermine the moral-political unity of the Soviet people. Thirdly, to weaken the magnetic force of the Leninist nationality policy and to demonstrate that the experience of the solution of the national question in the USSR cannot be used by the developing countries.

These are the directions taken by the falsification activity of various institutions, scientific research centers, and laboratories, as well as an endless multitude of

monographs, articles, etc. that are published. Around-the-clock broadcasts of a slanderous character are transmitted in many languages of the peoples of the USSR by various radio stations pursuing one goal—to do harm to our socialist state, to destabilize the political situation, and to call forth international conflicts. In so doing, the ideologists of "the free world" do not have an aversion to anything, beginning with the open lie and ending with pseudo-scientific works.

The bourgeois ideologists are trying to extend to Soviet reality the features and tendencies characteristic of the policy of tsarism, utilizing for this the long ago obsolete term of "Russification". The conjectures of the adherents of this conception basically come down to the following directions: The lack of political, legal, and economic rights of the national republics; the "propagation" of Russian culture in the national regions, the replacement of the national cultures of the peoples of the USSR by it; the supposedly compulsory instruction of persons of non-Russian nationality in the Russian language; and the "domination" of the Russian population in the territory of the national republics.

The conception of Russification distorts the international essence of the CPSU. The bourgeois authors endeavor to contrast the nationality policy being carried out by it during the contemporary stage to the Leninist principles of the solution of the national question. With the aid of the conception of Russification, the Sovietologists hope to sow distrust of the peoples of our country in the Russian people, to undermine the principle of internationalism on which the relations of the nations and nationalities of the USSR are based, and to foist on the Soviet people the ideology of bourgeois nationalism and thereby to call forth the "erosion of socialism."

As the object of their slanderous fabrications, the apologists of imperialism have selected, in particular, the Soviet republics of Central Asia. Shedding crocodile tears for the "exotic" past of Central Asia, they hypocritically bemoan the allegedly lost originality of the population and desire to return the rule of the emirs, khans, tsarist generals and bureaucrats, inflating in every conceivable way the history of the peoples of Central Asia and the evolution of their interrelations with Russia. In so doing, the most striking and historically significant events are transformed by the bourgeois falsifiers into funeral chords, into an impenetrable, dark night, and into a continuous chain of enmity and hatred.

The history of the Central Asian peoples of the Soviet period, which is represented in the blackest colors by the bourgeois ideologists, is subjected to especially bitter criticism. The Asiatics with a patriarchal structure of life and clan survivals, they assert, were not ready on the socio-economic and moral-psychological planes for the perception of the ideas of a socialist revolution. The revolution that was carried out in Russia, in their opinion, was brought here on the bayonets of the Red Army.

The French anti-communist A. Bennigsen, in the article "Sultan Galiyev, the USSR and the Colonial Revolution," writes: "From the very beginning, the revolution appeared in the eyes of the Muslims as a Russian phenomenon advantageous for the Russians, and it was combined with their presence. This patent lie is disproved by reliable historical facts and scientific data. The peoples of Central Asia perceived the revolution as their own vital affair and courageously fought for its victory and the further achievements of socialism, which corresponded to their age-old aspirations and national interests and opened up before them new prospects for all-round development.

Decidedly not to the liking of the ideologists of imperialism are the principles of the genuine freedom and equality of rights of the peoples that were proclaimed by the Great October, principles which legislatively have been anchored in the Declaration of the Rights of the Peoples of Russia, in the first Soviet Constitution, and in the Constitution of 1977. In every conceivable manner, the Sovietologists try to slander and blacken the nationality structure in the USSR and the indisputable fact that the peoples of Central Asia have obtained their national statehood and have become sole masters of their land and their destiny. "Lie, but know when to stop"—runs popular wisdom.

The apologists of imperialism distort the Leninist policy of industrialization and collectivization of agriculture. In the book "The Soviet East: The Communist Model of Development", published in the United States, the authors affirm the reader who is inexperienced in politics [to believe] that the collectivization of agriculture was not only a historical necessity and a means of liquidating the age-old backwardness of the national regions, but allegedly was an instrument of the Soviet government for eradicating "the Islamic culture from the life of the local Muslim population."

The American [as published] falsifier of the history of the CPSU Schapiro and the author of the book "Islam in the USSR", the French Sovietologist F. Romenville declare in unison that the economic policy of the CPSU did not give the national regions anything. However, all these assertions are groundless.

The falsifiers say over and over again that the Soviet experiment in industrialization does not have a historical analogue and for this reason it contradicts the objective laws of economic development (it goes without saying, capitalism). Here Messrs. the anti-Sovietists are correct. Yes, indeed, there are not similar historical analogues, but there is real socialism, built on the objective laws of historical development. There is no analogue in history of even a single colony of an imperialist country achieving within such a short time such outstanding successes as was done by the free republics of Central Asia. The successes of the Tajik SSR serve as an obvious confirmation of this.

Today this is a highly-developed industrial republic. Taking in at a glance, from the height of 70 years, the path traversed by the republic during these years, it is impossible not to be astounded. There arose and developed such new sectors of industry as machine building, power engineering, electrical engineering, mining, oil, fuel oil, and other industries. Present-day industry combines more than 100 sectors, and the volume of production during the years of Soviet power increased by a factor of more than 850. The production being turned out in the enterprises of the republic go abroad, including to the developed capitalist states.

An important place in the anti-Marxist literature is allotted to the distortion of the essence of the forms and methods of the socialist transformation of the village. But, as is well known, Soviet power gave the peasants land, having made them sole masters. At present, more than 35,000 tractors, about 4,250 cotton-harvesters and the most diverse types of modern equipment are operating in the agriculture of the republic.

The highly-mechanized agriculture, based on the achievements of modern science, of the Tajik SSR, as well as of the other Soviet republics, has achieved outstanding successes.

However, the apologists of bourgeois society bemoan not only the national economic situation of the Central Asian republics, but also the national culture and language of the peoples. "The national theaters are empty, and no one reads the literature and the newspapers in the national languages," they declare. "Is this not a sign of the degradation of the national culture?"

They pretend that they do not know about the rapid development of the national cultures of the peoples of Central Asia, that in all republics they have their own theaters, books, magazines and newspapers are published in the native languages, and broadcasts are made on radio and television. The mutual enrichment of national cultures is going on, evidence of which were the recent Days of Art and Literature of the RSFSR in Tajikistan.

The inveterate anti-Sovietists are feeling bad because the Russian language has become the language of international intercourse in the fraternal family of the peoples of the USSR and because the national minorities can not only speak in this language, but also write poems, novels, scientific lectures, and lecture and discuss.

In characterizing modern anti-Sovietism, it must be noted that its ideals, irrespective of nuances, continue to remain at the points of departure of the bourgeoisie. Regardless of the abundance among them of points of view and apparent or patent disagreements in the assessment of these or those events in the history of the USSR, the essence in them is the same for all—double-dyed anti-Communism and anti-Sovietism.

This was also manifested in the assessment of the incident in Alma-Ata. It called forth attempts in the Western press to represent nationalism in bourgeois society and nationalist manifestations in our country as phenomena of the same order.

However, in vain and groundless are their hopes for the erosion of Soviet society, for the disintegration of our multi-national state, and for the development of national strife. In the fraternal family of Soviet peoples, the people of the republics of Central Asia, under the guidance of the Communist Party, look confidently into the future.

The fair and correct solution of the national question in the USSR has shown to the entire world a reliable path

for liquidating national enmity and distrust, the establishment of friendship and fraternity between peoples, and the securing of accelerated socio-economic and cultural development. During the years of Soviet power, the equality of peoples and their fraternal cooperation have become actually established in our country. The economy and culture of all republics have developed. A single Soviet people has come into being, proud of its common achievements and ready to defend the socialist achievements against any encroachment. Including against attacks of bourgeois falsifiers. The best refutation of the bourgeois fabrications is our reality, our practical successes.

8970

**Russian Orthodox Church Regains Optina Monastery**  
18120050 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English  
27 Dec 87-3 Jan 88 p 23

[Article by Alexander Nezhny]

[Excerpts] Let's start with a piece of news which is as yet extraordinary in our life—Optina Pustyn is again to be a monastery. Over the last seven decades, we have, after all, become more used to destroying or closing down. But the Danilov Monastery has been opened in Moscow (by the way, it has already been restored and is nearly ready for the not-too-distant celebrations of the millennium of the baptism of Rus), the Tolgsky Monastery in Yaroslavl has been handed over to the Russian Orthodox Church, the question of setting up a hermitage on Anzer, one of the Solovetsky islands, is being discussed, old churches have been opened in some Russian cities and new ones have been built, and, finally, the Optina Monastery (which is going back to its old sources 64 years later). This is something to think about, isn't it? The dogmatists accept all this with a sort of holy terror—as a rejection of our primogeniture and a retreat before the Church, incapable of accepting anything new—views, approaches or thinking—they cannot understand (and will never be able to understand) that in our time assessing the interrelations between the state and the Church only in a bellicose way is a very dangerous mistake. The world outlook which transfers the clash of ideas to the administrative field and, according to the principle—might is right—achieves the upper hand by force, wins nothing. Returning the Optina Monastery (and other Russian Orthodox monasteries and churches) testifies to the state's new religious policy—but not only to this.

What was the Optina Monastery for Russia? Why did the dilapidated (at the time of Peter I it was closed down, and reopened only at the special request of the shareholders) and poverty-ridden monastery turn into a prosperous cloister? And why did Nikolai Gogol write once that "I need to be in Optina Monastery at any point of my travels?" Let us note—it is not the Holy Trinity-St. Sergy Lavra or the Kiev-Pechersk Monastery, with their most ancient holy things, and any of the 1,000 or more Orthodox monasteries, but precisely the Optina Monastery that Gogol regarded as the ideal of existence, the embodiment of what should be, and as the promised land. Its magnetic force was imparted to it by the elders who settled in 1821 in the hermitage not far from the monastery.

The institute of elders, that is, the spiritual leadership in Optina Monastery, proved to have a much broader purpose than its radical, purely monastic one. The whole of Russia, and that is no exaggeration, went to Optina, to the elders to seek advice, conciliation and purification. The Russian man of the previous century and the beginning of our century brought his innermost secrets,

everyday calamities, trade and industrial plans, spiritual torments and questions—his life and his soul—to the cell of an elder in Optina, hoping to get firm moral support.

Grateful Russia has retained the names of all the Optina elders, but especially singles out three of them, calling them great ones. And, indeed, they were the most amazing men. Priest Leonid (Nagolkin), whom the Bishop of Kaluga had often forbidden to receive people, defended his right "to reveal and instruct" and spoke thus: "You can exile me to Siberia, you may light a fire and put me in it, I'll remain the same Leonid. I'll sing to my God while I'm alive." Priest Makary (Ivanov), who was the elder after him, together with Ivan Kireyevsky, one of the founders of Slavophilism, philosopher, critic and journalist, and his wife Natalya, started bookprinting at the monastery. Makary planned to publish Russian religious literature in translations by Paisy Velichkovsky—a man whose life and work constitute an entire epoch in the history of Russian spiritual education. It is enough to say that he had restored the institute of elders in Russia (Leonid, for example, was a pupil of his pupil) and translated from Greek a whole library of works by holy fathers. And Makary started, together with the Kireyevskys (and mainly with their money), the publishing activities of the Optina Monastery and thus restored the monastic book-publishing tradition of Ancient Rus. In 1847 the first book was issued, and 50 years later the monastery was publishing nearly 130 books, which, taking into account the tremendous amount of preparatory and research work, was a splendid result. We might add that books, in general, were the main wealth of the Optina Monastery. And the monastery library, which by the end of the 19th century had over 30,000 books (the library of the hermitage had another 3,000 books), kept not only theological and religious books, but also Russian and foreign classics, works on philosophy, history, medicine and mathematics. There were 200 old and rare books in this collection.

Makary's activities were continued by priest Amvrosy (Grenkov) who was probably the most famous of all the Optina elders. Any commentary to The Karamazov Brothers will tell you that Ambrosy was the prototype of Elder Zossima, Alyosha's spiritual mentor, a wise man and a seer.

Leo Tolstoy's fifth and last visit to the Optina Monastery was connected, as we know, with his departure from Yasnaya Polyana. An irreconcilable opponent of the Church he, for some reason, set off at once to the monastery and, according to doctor Dushan Makovetsky, asked his co-travellers and the coachman which elders were inhabiting the hermitage at the moment, and said that he would go to them. True, he failed to reach the elders, though Makovetsky wrote: "L.N. apparently wanted very much to talk with the elders."

Optina Monastery-Shamordino-Astapovo station—and death.

Why did his last road lie through two monasteries? What did he look for in Optina? If we had the answer to these questions, maybe we'd learn something unusually important about Leo Tolstoy. It is a great pity that after 1925 part of the archives of the then long-closed monastery were lost, including the materials connected with the last days of Leo Tolstoy.

Why do we thumb through these dear pages today? Why do we take up the precious time of very busy people and try to make them turn to the past? Why are we reminding people about the great elders whom great Russian writers came to visit? Above all, so that we will be able, at the end of the 20th century, to imagine at least a little the shining of Optina Monastery and the tremendous spiritual and cultural wealth accumulated in it. Its existence was truly supreme. And no matter how we look at it, no matter how irreconcilable we might be in relation to the monastery itself—it will always be supreme for us, an inalienable part of the people's soul, history and life.

The monastery, sited on the banks of the Zhizdra, not far from Kozelsk, an ancient Russian town, had four churches, a high belfry, seven dormitories for monks, a library and book depository in stone, a refectory, inns and a stone wall with seven towers. There was a hermitage beyond a pine copse. It had a wooden Church of St. John the Baptist and holy gates, in one of whose annexes was Amvrosy's cell and the three-storey library. I remember visiting the Optina Monastery. We were bitter and sad to see such dilapidation which made our hearts feel bewildered confusion. Everything was either falling apart or just managing to survive; a boiler-room was emitting smoke and heaps of coal loomed black. The Church of Mary of Egypt looked as if it had been bombed. Only the tombstones on the graves of the Kireyevskys and Amvrosy remained of the necropolis which used to be carefully looked after. "I'm looking and I rejoice," said my companion with gall, a kindly man and an awful skeptic. "We've done away with religious opium here quite effectively.

Dilapidation and dumb ignorance are elements of one chain—the rejection of cultural heritage and the consequent emptiness behind us, which threatens to bring the same emptiness both to the present and the future. I anticipate the objection: "And what about the museum at the Church of St. John the Baptist in the hermitage? Or the houses which once gave shelter to Gogol and Dostoyevsky? The restoration work going on now?" Well, a museum—so to speak, organized remembrance—is a good thing. But it is too insignificant in comparison with the focus of culture and spirit which we call Optina Monastery. As for the restoration work... The house where Gogol used to live is being restored. Restoration started about two years ago though there was less than a month's work. But we expect to speak now not about restoration woes, because the question of the so-called monuments of history and culture is much more profound than purely restoration questions. It is a question posed to the heart of public consciousness, and

it will sound, most probably, as follows "Who are we?" Have we fostered, at long last, in ourselves the spiritual broadmindedness, tolerance and realization of the eternal value of variegated expressions of our country's culture? Has awe been restored in our hearts, or, quite to the contrary, does a passion for destruction continue, as before, to blind us? And do we realize that by returning to the monument what is natural to it we become, even more firmly and for a longer time, rooted in our historical and national soil?

Our consciousness allows us to get attached to what we are used to. That is why everything new, all that urges us to split with former concepts, is so painful for us. And we (at least many of us) either simply cannot grow reconciled to the thought that bulwarks are collapsing and the monastery is being reborn, or, wise from our own experience, we call all this an advertisement and window-dressing. Whereas the return of Optina Monastery tells us, once again, about the state's new religious policy. And, I repeat, not only about this. I'd like to believe that the sober realization has come to us that life is wiser than we are and that it cannot be put into any scheme, however impeccable it would seem to us. We are only just starting to restore the severed ties and we still have much work—hard, noble and extremely necessary—for society to perform.

Much work is to be done also in the Optina Monastery. The administration on the restoration and construction of the Danilov Monastery has already started to do it. Preliminary estimates show that the restoration of the monastery and the holy gates in the hermitage will cost 15-20 million roubles. The people will raise the money through the Russian Orthodox Church, just as they did for the restoration of the Danilov Monastery and for the needs of the Holy Trinity-St. Sergy Lavra after it suffered from a fire. Metropolitan Sergy (Petrov) of Odessa and Kherson, head of the Moscow Patriarchate, said that a monastery will again be functioning at the Optina.

08309

#### Atheism Found to Compete Poorly With Religious Teaching

18000160 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian  
15 Dec 87 p 3

[Article entitled "Atheism and Spiritual Renewal. Notes from a Plenum of the Board of the UkrSSR Znaniye Society"]

[Text] When participants in this meeting left the hall, it was obvious that its four hours of work had not been in vain. The formulation of the problems of scientific atheism and the critical appraisals stimulated ideas and generated the desire to debate. No small part here was played by the report delivered by A. S. Onishchenko, corresponding member of the UkrSSR Academy of Sciences.

Of course the participants in the plenum did not make use of every possibility to enter into the debate. In the lobby, I also chanced to hear: "There are more questions than answers. But the impetus for reflection was given. And as is obvious from the resolution that was passed, the debate will be continued at sessions of scientific methodology sections and at meetings of certain of the society's organizations.

**Scientific atheism.** Today one can hear much abuse directed against it. It is accused of being pointlessly negative, dogmatic, and primitive. Unfortunately these charges are not without foundation. But it is best to cite an excerpt from the report: "Administrative measures against believers, attempts to overcome religion by a sudden attack, misconstrued atheist militancy in the form of straightforwardness, clamorousness, curt phrases—all this has not been eliminated everywhere."

Atheistic propaganda "frequently boils down to the refutation, exposure, and criticism of religion without offering a positive program of its own. But atheism as the bare negation of religion has historically exhausted itself. It cannot attract the masses of believers for long."

However, the speaker continued, the point at issue is not the potential of the scientific theory of atheism, but rather the backwardness of its methods and the stiffness of its propaganda forms. It frequently views religion in a narrow sense—merely as a fantastic, antiscientific reflection of reality. The church maintains its authority not so much by preaching the "kingdom of heaven" as by its involvement in the solution of vitally important problems—"social service," as theologians call it.

Many of our atheists have lost sight of this point. Concentrating exclusively on criticism of the biblical picture of the world (and using arguments that are remote from modern science), they attack fortifications that the enemy has already relinquished. At the same time, they do not seem to notice the bastions the church has erected in the area of spiritual and moral searching. Is this not one of the reasons why atheism's influence is growing weaker? Does this not encourage attempts to advance religious morality as an alternative to the lack of spirituality? These attempts, obvious or hidden in certain literary works, have evoked the concern of many of the speakers. It is the duty of propagandists of atheism to convincingly answer the unsubstantiated accusations that atheism is unspiritual and amoral.

**Atheism does not by any means reject morality**, only its supernatural origin. It equally condemns only that which is unscientific or mystical. It subjects everything else to creative critical analysis. The unreligious content of religion, i. e., naturalistic, philosophical, legal, ethical, esthetic, and other ideas, views, and conceptions is no exception. As regards morality, specifically that which exists in atheism is controlled not by God but by scientific self-awareness which makes it most conscious and humane.

Is scientific atheism necessary? There are those who ask this question. If we want to instill a scientific world view in all people, the dispute with religion is inevitable. As long as the church provides its explanation of "eternal" and everyday questions, scientific answers will invariably acquire an antireligious hue. And this does not depend on someone's whim—such is objective logic.

Atheism is necessary. But it must be spiritually and morally attractive. It must be such that while it rejects religion it fuses modern scientific knowledge, the highest moral values, and exemplary forms of life activity. Therefore stagnation is counterindicated for it; it must alter its content, forms, and methods of propaganda. Restructuring also means updating the theoretical and practical arsenal of atheism. Many of the speakers tried to understand and apply this thesis in practice.

The chairman of the Poltava Oblast "Druzhba" Kolkhoz was one of the speakers. At first, one might have asked what he, Yevgeniy Pavlovich Butenko, had to talk about. What relationship did his words have to the problem that was examined here? But the applause that greeted him as one of the few speakers showed that the chairman was talking facts.

He described his concern for people on the kolkhoz. Not for people in general but for every living person. Not only for their material well-being, but for their mood and sense of need. Attention to one's neighbor, Butenko said, not only means responding to his request but also means putting yourself in his place and feeling his soul.

Hence the constant readiness of kolkhoz managers to have a heartfelt talk with an old person or with a youth and the ability to respond to their needs meaningfully. Hence also the warmth the kolkhoz has shown to soldiers' widows and war and labor veterans. Hence the fatherly concern for youth, for seeing to it that they are brought up on the juices of their native land rather than beverages prepared from dubious recipes. Therefore they spared neither energy nor resources for a local history museum. It will keep alive the memory of fellow villager Arseniy Rudik, a participant in the first Russian revolution; of Ivan Odinovol, the first tractor driver; and of the 116 who lost their lives on the field of battle against the fascist hordes.

And if people feel the concern and the true humanism of our Soviet way of life, the atheist's words will fall on receptive soil. After all, it was not by chance that believers and nonbelievers alike actively participated in the creation of the museum of scientific atheism. And people seek (and find) solace in their sorrows not from God but from people. And their joy is bright and wholehearted because it is shared.

No, the chairman did not attempt to paint a mellow picture. After all, much still remains to be done for the social development of the village. But the turn that he gave to the discussion of atheistic education showed how wide and all-encompassing its area is.

**Believer and atheist.** Who are they? Do they differ from the age-old view of them?

Until recently we dealt with the so-called traditional believer. He was not entirely clear on the fine points of religion and mechanically adhered to tradition. He did not object to atheists even though he did not agree with them.

A new type of believer was depicted at the plenum. For the most part, he has a secondary and even higher education. He is able to defend his views. He is not an isolated fanatic but is open to candid discussions. In large measure, he is dissatisfied with traditional religion and is seeking new forms. Whether it is possible to direct his search in the direction of the rejection of religion largely depends on the quality of atheistic propaganda, on the ability of its activists.

Of course, today's atheist is different from the atheist of yore. But in his arsenal there is still much that has long been obsolete. And the avenues of restructuring have also been determined on this plane.

It is necessary to unequivocally affirm a style of persuasion in it. And here, much must be done. There is need for scientific rearmament with due regard to the fact that recent science, which has investigated the micro- and macroworld, has defined many things more precisely and has modified its views and ideas, which serve as a support for scientific atheism.

The history problem has been advanced to the center of confrontation between religion and atheism. Thus, atheists must gain a deeper mastery of historical material.

After all, only on this basis can there be a scientific and convincing evaluation of the history of religion and the church in our country, of church figures, of such an event as the millennium of Christianity in Rus, and historical and cultural monuments associated with religion in the past.

Centers of imperialist subversion are unabating in their attempts to use religion for antisocialist purposes. Atheists should therefore make decisive, offensive use of their weapon against bourgeois-clerical, nationalist-clerical, and Zionist propaganda.

The list of forms of atheistic propaganda that should be emphasized today is long. It includes: debates, oral journals, "roundtables," rallies, music evenings and concerts, social and political clubs, neighbor and family meetings. Therefore much of this has not yet been credited to activists of the Znaniye Society. The plenum resolved to alter the situation.

**From the resolution.** "Atheistic work must be subordinated to the tasks of renewing the spiritual life of all categories of the population, of instilling in them a scientific world view and civic maturity, of developing their labor and social activism, of creating an atmosphere of moral-political unity of believers and nonbelievers, their mutual understanding and cooperation."

A notable point. The tasks confronting the nation are enormous. They can only be resolved by the entire world. And it is the mission of the propagandists of scientific atheism to help every Soviet person to be equal to them.

5013

**Lithuanian Paper Warned: Glasnost Not One-sided Censure**

18000140a Moscow *IZVESTIYA* in Russian 16 Dec 87  
p 3

[Article by Lyaonas Kyauleydis, editor of newspaper RABOCHAYA CHEST, published at Vilnius Heating Equipment Plant imeni 50th Anniversary of the USSR: "Learning Democracy: One-Sided Glasnost"]

[Text] At first glance it would seem to be a story of purely local interest: the popular Lithuanian weekly GIMTASIS KRASHTAS took Algirdas Vileykis, chairman of the Vilnius Gorsovet Ispolkom, to task. Scolded him. The reason: renovation of the Old City.

The old sections of Vilnius are everyone's pride, our love and our pain. Erected in the Middle Ages, they are now getting a bit rundown. "Now" in this context does not mean "today" — the public has been sounding the alarm about this for a quarter of a century. But passions have run high only in recent years, since the antiquities zealots and city patriots got a chance to speak openly about the things that bother them in newspapers and on radio and television. Journalists from almost every publication in Vilnius sharpened their quills on the stones of the Old City. They criticized the architects, the restorers, the builders and, of course, the gorsovet.

The discussion had positive results. For example, 33 buildings are currently undergoing restoration; 17 of them are monuments of culture, and the total restoration costs will be 15 million rubles. Recently the city got a huge exhibition hall, the former arsenal building, which as far back as several generations of Vilnius's citizens can remember has been a complete ruin, and which has now been reconstructed on the basis of old documents. A museum collection has gone on display in the artillery fort. And, believe me, the list goes on.

Does this mean that there have been no problems connected with renovation of the Old City? Although as a rule tourists and guests of our city praise its beauty and cleanliness and the scale of the restoration work, we, the native inhabitants, can see the shortcomings more clearly, and we also feel them more painfully. Therefore the article in GIMTASIS KRASHTAS appealed for "restructuring of the Old City renovation." The fact that many of the points and problems addressed in the article have already long since been discussed repeatedly in the press, by creative organizations and at public meetings did not detract from the article's importance. A session of the gorsovet in June of this year was devoted to acceleration of Old City restoration projects. A special resolution concerning restoration of the historic city center is also in the works.

The gorsovet's reply to the editor, signed by deputy ispolkom chairman K. Kachonas, acknowledged that the criticism was justified. But it also made so bold as to say that acceleration of the pace of restoration work would depend not only on the ispolkom's wishes, but on its actual capabilities as well.

I would submit that there is nothing in that statement to offend the weekly. A newspaper's word is not the highest authority on truth. The one being criticized has a right to disagree and to express his or her opinions. We need to examine the situation as a whole and determine who is right. However, in its editorial GIMTASIS KRASHTAS preferred to scold rather than try to get at the truth. And it did so harshly, alleging that the ispolkom does not see or understand the historical responsibility which has been placed upon it, i.e. to save, restore and add brilliance to the center of our republic capital. It stressed that that is a duty not only to the people of Soviet Lithuania, but also to the whole of world public opinion.

Attached to the editorial was a letter from Yu. Baltushis, a writer who is much respected and widely read in Lithuania. His rage was more specific and was directed at the chairman of the gorsovet ispolkom personally. The writer's talented hand painted a picture of a malicious destroyer, and the author was not very choosy as to the epithets he used. Sad to say, but at times the respected Yuozas Baltushis stooped to primitive, abusive language and even went so far as to make political accusations. "The leaders of the Lithuanian capital have an insatiable desire to destroy historical and cultural monuments, to wipe off the face of the earth everything which is dear to the heart of every Lithuanian. That is only the hundredth part of what the Vilnius Gorispolkom has been up to, and Algirdas Vileykis in particular."

A specific example of the ispolkom's "malicious actions" is cited: one victim of the excessively slow renovation of the Old City is a certain literary translator, freezing with his small children in an empty building.

Quite frankly, I could scarcely recognize GIMTASIS KRASHTAS, a paper which has recently gained greater popularity in Lithuania, in this commentary and, pardon the expression, exercise in mudslinging against the city chief. Customarily well-reasoned and respectful toward its opponent in debate, it seems that the newspaper completely forgot that in restructuring the principal guidelines are democratization, respect for the individual and intolerance of any manifestations of demagogery or name-calling.

Since the esteemed writer's letter mentioned a specific injured individual, I decided to call the gorsovet and ask: do we have so many translators that we can afford to make them work under intolerable conditions? The reply took me aback. The building where the translator lived is in fact undergoing restoration. All its residents were long ago moved to other apartments. The translator was

offered five different places to live: three- and four-room apartments varying in size from 55 to 110 square meters. Unfortunately he would not accept any of them.

But words are just words, so I decided to make an official inquiry and receive an official reply on this matter; I did so, and deputy gorispolkom chairman Z. Baltsyavich's signature was on the document. Why did I need written confirmation? Because I had decided to express my opinion of the GIMTASIS KRASHTAS article in that same publication, as well as my opinion as to the tone in which intelligent people should carry on discussions. And I knew from personal experience that one should reinforce one's position with documents before entering into such debate.

Naturally I also looked into what has actually been done toward restoration of the historic city center.

Perhaps not everyone is aware that, in contrast to many old cities, Vilnius is not just repairing individual buildings, but instead is regenerating the entire historic center. That is to say, the gorsovet has divided the medieval central city into 74 sections and is relocating the entire population of each section in turn, then restoring the old buildings, taking care to preserve architecture and silhouettes.

It is a well-known fact that it is a hundred times easier to build than it is to rebuild. And also a hundred times cheaper. And probably a thousand times simpler. But in 1969 the Old City was declared a monument of urban design. It contains 1,244 buildings and 1,244 monuments of culture. It has 28,000 residents, who must all be relocated without disturbing existing waiting lists for housing.

Long before Algirdas Vileykis was elected ispolkom chairman, in 1955-58, the first plan for reconstruction of the old quarter was submitted. Renovation of the various sections has been under way since 1967. In 1969 the "Litrestavratsiya" Trust was created; it includes an Institute of Monument Conservation. This past summer a special repair-restoration trust devoted solely to the Old City was created.

I could list dozens, even hundreds, of places in our city which are familiar to the citizens of Vilnius and to visitors which have gotten a second lease on life through the regeneration process. The University, the State Young People's Theater, the Lele Puppet Theater, cafes and bistros, the Astoria Hotel, stores and public service enterprises. A total of 1,279 families have returned to apartments in the Old City. Not everything can be measured in terms of money, but the following figure is significant: 110 million rubles have been spent on the 20 years of restoration work.

Of course, the scale of the job is such that three-quarters of the Old City is still waiting its turn. Of course, we do not want to see the restoration work drag on for decades

to come. But in any case is it right to accuse the city leaders and the ispolkom chairman specifically of being destroyers of sacred national sites? Is not GIMTASIS KRASHTAS stretching the truth when it tries to convince its readers that nowhere except in Vilnius are historic districts in such a pitiful state? I wrote all of this in an article and sent it to GIMTASIS KRASHTAS, expressing my resolute disagreement with their previous article.

My article was rejected, with the opinion of the LiSSR CP Central Committee being cited as the reason.

However, the Central Committee had no objections to the text of my letter to the editor. The newspaper was simply displeased by the fact that someone had dared to disagree with it.

A strange turn of events! We all suffered for so long from the fact that we newspaper people were rebuffed when we were too critical; we were outraged when we were told in the name of the people what we should write about, or else. But now that we have the opportunity for a free exchange of opinions, we often do not want to hear any opinion other than our own.

Quite frankly, I was not disturbed by the fact that the editors did not agree with me. What is dangerous is that they felt that they had a right to forbid the publication of a rebuttal. If we all gradually start acting like that, then freedom of opinion will still be an abstract concept in our grandchildren's time.

I have lived in Vilnius for many years, and I have worked in the press for 30 years. During all those years I have never once had occasion to meet Chairman A. Vileykis. But I know many people who regard him as a man in the right position and an intelligent administrator. I will not presume to judge him on the basis of second-hand knowledge, but I am certain of one thing: anyone who demands respect must also show respect to others. And it should be borne in mind that any word molded in printer's type weighs more heavily than even the most intemperate opinion uttered aloud. The art of disputation is one of the weakest points in our lives today. Perhaps yesterday we did not pay it any attention (the thinking was that people need not be so sensitive, they would surely get over it!), but today...

At this point I should state that GIMTASIS KRASHTAS is my favorite newspaper. And not just mine. Just a year or a year-and-a-half ago it was a boring, unimaginative publication that looked at the world through a double thickness of rose-colored glass. Then the weekly was taken over by Algimantas Chekuolis, a talented journalist and writer. Every issue of the weekly became an event. It seems to me that the editor gets new grey hairs with each issue: cultivating glasnost is about the same as weeding a rose garden — the end result is beautiful, but the thorns are merciless. And as a result the newspaper's publication volume has increased by a factor of 10!

To whom else but a popular publication which has the confidence of its readers should fall the job of preaching those truths without which we cannot understand the lessons of the past?

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### Exporter Describes Planned Purchases of Foreign Films

18000154 Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 5 Dec 87 p 5

[Interview with O. Rudnev, chairman of the All-Union Association Sovkino, by I. Bobrovoy, date and place not specified]

[Text] [Question] Oleg Aleksandrovich, the viewers and the mass media have a lot of complaints against your organization that amount to this: the "wrong" films are being purchased.

[Answer] I assume that this is happening because of inadequate information about our work and a shortage of glasnost. In some critical statements, even this thought slipped through: "does Sovkino even know what is going on in the world of motion pictures today?"

I want to declare officially: we know everything that world cinematography is producing. In the first place, we have 55 representatives abroad who regularly inform us about foreign film production. Secondly, we participate in almost all film festivals and markets around the globe. In addition, we have an All-Union Research Institute for Cinematography. It regularly, several times a year, gives its recommendations, as does the Union of Cinematographers. Creative delegations that travel abroad also share their thoughts. Moreover, we send purchasing commissions to such countries as the United States, France, Italy, England and India and they look at the entire film production for the year. Finally, the United States shows its film production especially for us and other socialist countries at the annual international film market in London. Foreign firms also sent films to Moscow for review.

There is no need to be deluded; there is too much poor-quality film production in the world. Italian and French cinematography has lost its former glory. I am not even talking about England, Japan, Sweden, Holland, etc. It is becoming more and more difficult to select foreign films for distribution here in our country. Let us take, for example, France. Under an agreement between our states, we are supposed to buy 10 full-length films from each other every year. From several dozen films reviewed by our film experts in France, however, they have so far been able to select only a few for our screen and that was with difficulty. And it is not at all a matter of the abundance of sex and violence but simply a matter of the wretchedness of the dramatic composition and directing.

It must be noted that the national cinematography of many countries in the world has literally been crushed by the American movie industry and Hollywood's film expansion, which is extremely difficult to resist, especially for the cinematographies of the developing countries.

[Question] Nevertheless, why did our viewer previously not look at those pictures that were the pride of world cinematography?

[Answer] It is interesting that it was not so long ago that we began to raise and answer these questions. Why? I think that those who raise the question and those who answer it have become smarter. For it was just a few years ago that such questions were raised only in a whisper behind the scenes.

Thus, there was not a single—I stress—not a single picture of well-known masters or a film acclaimed somewhere at a festival, in a film week or in the press and honored with some award or other that Sovkino would not have shown to the purchasing commission! I will explain that foreign films are acquired only after the positive decision of the purchasing commission, coordination with the film distribution service and confirmation by the board of USSR Goskino. Do you think that we never raised the question of the purchase of *Eight and a Half*? Or *"Midnight Cowboy"*? Or *"The Godfather"*? We did so repeatedly. For different reasons, however, these films were not accepted for purchase.

I will comment that when we are scolded for depriving the Soviet viewer of the opportunity of seeing the best films, they are literally talking about some 30 pictures created practically through the entire history of motion pictures! This indicates that the extent of our fault is not really so great! And we are now trying to reduce it to zero. You know that at the recent 15th Moscow Film Festival we guaranteed that all of its prize-winning films would be acquired. And we will keep this word.

And all of this, without a doubt, is the result of the moral atmosphere that is now being established in our society. We have reached a level where we can resolve these questions even more intelligently and thoughtfully.

[Question] Tell us, today are we selling a lot of Soviet pictures abroad?

[Answer] Enough, although we could sell more. In the first 8 months of this year, we sold 466 films to 74 countries of the world. The leaders here are *"Pokayaniye"* [Repentance], *"Idi i smotri"* [Go and Look], *"Kurer"* [The Messenger], *"Pisma mertvogo cheloveka"* [Letters of a Dead Person], *"Plyumbum, ili Opasnaya igra"* [Plyumbum, or a Dangerous Game], *"Kapitan 'Piligrima'"* [Captain of the "Pilgrim"], *"Mirazhi lyubvi"* [Mirages of Love], *"Ryc vozvrashchayetsya"*

[The Lynx Returns], "Odinokaya zhenshchina zhelayet poznakomitsya" [A Lonely Woman Wants to Meet You] and "Chelovek s bulvara Kaputsinov" [Man from Capuchin Boulevard].

I must say that heretofore we have been very little involved with the study of how viewers abroad perceive the Soviet film. Yes, we sell much. They buy films from us, although I must also say that they do not always show them. The important thing is that for the first time Western film representatives have begun to speak of the commercial potential of Soviet films. For a long time, we argued about what to emphasize, commerce or ideology. And only now now are we beginning to understand that we can achieve the necessary ideological ideal only through commerce. It is good, of course, when we show Soviet films abroad at the embassy or "friendship" society. But this is too little. We need to reach the movie theateers. We must reach those people in the West who need to obtain a truthful concept of socialism, our way of life and our problems.

[Question] And what foreign films are seen more on our screen today, serious films or, as one customarily says, commercial or entertaining films? And which, in your opinion, should there be more of?

[Answer] Above all there must be a reasonable balance between the two. It was not so long ago that the press came down on us with the question: Why did "Angelica" come to us? Thousands of readers agreed with the press. Good, it is finally gone. And now the editor's office is been flooded with other letters: Why did "Angelica" disappear? What, do you want to give us so much of Bertolucci and Fellini that there is no more place on the screen for entertaining films?

Yes, we made mistakes at times, offering viewers films that were not in the best taste. But here is a quite surprising example—the film "Amadeus" of Milos Forman, a talented director who has received worldwide recognition and eight "Oscars"! We are proud of the fact that we were able to come to an agreement and acquire this marvelous picture. But a member of the Union of Composers simply denounces us for buying this picture, believing that the people who permitted this should not remain at their posts for even a second!

[Question] What do you think are the most important problems facing Sovkino today?

[Answer] There are many problems. It is up to us to resolve most of them. We currently have a shortage of foreign exchange for the acquisition of films. In addition, we are going over to full cost accounting, self-support and self-financing. We will earn money. If we do not, no one will give us any more. Yes, we will try to work better and we will always render an account to our viewers. To buy more foreign films, we must sell more Soviet films. But our partners are very discriminating in their choice of Soviet films for purchasing. We still have too many

gray and inept pictures that are difficult to sell. And it is shameful too. Thus, it is necessary for all to reorganize themselves, in all links of Soviet motion pictures. If we do not, nothing will happen.

[Question] Oleg Aleksandrovich, let us name for the readers some films that they will be able to see on the screens and those that Sovkino would like to show them.

[Answer] First of all, we should name the films of the screen masters of the socialist countries. They include the Hungarian pictures "Colonel Redl" from I. Sabo and "Petals, Flowers and Wreaths" from L. Lugoshshi; the Czechoslovak films: "My Sweet Little Village" from I. Menzel, "Death of Splendid Deer" from K. Kakhin and "Shadows of a Hot Summer" from F. Vlachil; and the Polish films: "Hero of the Year" and "Protective Colors" from K. Zanussi. The Romanian cinema is represented by the picture "Jacob" from M. Danilyuk, the Bulgarian by the films "Eve from the Third Floor" from I. Grybchev, "Someone Behind the Door" from M. Nikolov, "The Adventures of Spas and Neli" from G. Stoyev, and "The Dog and the Children in Love" from L. Penchev, and the Yugoslav by the film "The Officer With a Rose" from D. Shorak. Of the films from the GDR, I would like to mention the two pictures "Island of Swans" and "Alone in the Boat" from G. Chokhe. Viewers also got to know two new works of the Mongolian director G. Zhigzhidsuren—"Send Me to the Front" and "The Tree That Budded in the Fall." His colleague from Vietnam Chan Vu presents the film "Brothers" for the judgment of Soviet viewers. The program of Chinese artistic films is varied: "Town of Lotuses" from Se Tszinya, "Big Parade" by Chen Kayge, and others.

Now about our "debts." After arguments and discussions with specialists and film experts, we drew up a list of the pictures from the archives of Gosfilmofond that we must without fail acquire to show to the Soviet viewer. We are suggesting to our purchasing commission that we order these films and I would say that we are taking the offensive in this matter. By the way, it has now become easier to prove some things—the purchasing commission has changed its face, staff and work practices.

Thus, some of the 40 titles on this list have already been bought. They include "Eight and a Half" and "Ginger and Fred" from Fellini, "Red Desert" from Antonioni, "The Conversation" from Coppola, Bunuel's "The Discreet Charm of the Bourgeoisie," "Ran" and "Seven Samurai" from Kurosawa, "Ragtime" and "One Flew Over the Cuckoo's Nest" from Forman, and "Legend of Narayama" from Imamura.

We also recently aquired the films: "Fanny and Alexander" from Bergman, "Salvador" from Stone, Allen's "Purple Rose of Cairo," Zeffirelli's "Othello," "The Next Morning" from Lumet, "The Pizzeria Connection"

from Damiani, "Corps de Ballet" from Attenborough, "French Cancan" from Renoir, "Magic Love" from Saura, Fayman's "Crocodile Dundee" and others.

Repeat showings will include: the Italian pictures "Mariage Italian Style" from De Sica and "Lost Dreams" from De Santis and the French films "Married Life" from Cayatte, "Adventure Seekers" from Rico, and "Montparnasse 19" from Becker.

Furthermore, we listened to a number of specialists who had their own opinions. And we also proposed to the commission—through a separate list—films recommended by the delegations of USSR Goskino and the Union of Cinematographers who traveled to international film festivals. Among those proposed were the Italian films "The Professor" from Tornatore and "My Friends" from Loya, the American films "Law of the Eagle" from Wrightman, "Labyrinth" from Henson and Spielberg's "The Color Purple," the English films "Father Christmas" from Schwartz, "America's Son" from Friedman, Wells' "The Trial," and King's "Sure Blow," and the French film "Man and a Woman, 20 Years Later" from Lelush. In accordance with recommendations made in the press, the Egyptian films "The Beginning," "The People on Top," "The Sixth Day," "The Last Love Story" and others will be proposed for purchase.

So as not to miss anything from the classics, we drew up a list of foreign films according to genres that we will show to the purchasing commission. In the drama section—Rosí's "Three Brothers," "The Outcasts," "The Godfather," "Cotton Club," "Apocalypse Now" from Coppola, "Gone with the Wind" (for which they are asking an incredible price) from Fleming, and Bogdanovich. There is also science fiction: the films "In Search of the Lost Arc" and "Star Wars" from Spielberg. Among the most outstanding comedies and musicals are the films "Flashdance," "You Only Live Twice," "Show Business" and the "Blues Brothers." These are all films from the United States. In the section for detective stories—the American films "Beverly Hills Cop," "Eye for an Eye," "The French Connection" and "Prayer for Death," the French film "The Professional," and the Italian film "Peace Tonight." In our opinion, it would be advisable to show the Soviet viewer graphically who our ideological adversary is today, without a dress coat or a tuxedo, and what he tells about us. It is worth while to demonstrate, at least in part, perhaps on television, some films of an antisocialist orientation. For our mass audience does not even suspect to what degree of banality, cynicism, immorality and falsity they can sometimes go in portraying our way of life!

[Question] Finally, the last question, Oleg Aleksandrovich. Which films are now the subject of negotiations for acquisition?

[Answer] They are the American films "ET" from Spielberg and "All That Jazz" from Fosse. We are also arranging the purchase of such pictures as "Bach and Broccoli" (Canada), "The Fugitives" and "Field of Honor" (France), "Official Story" (Argentina), "Half Sky" (Spain) and the Indian films "Pearls," "Get Married Girl," "Acquaintance," "Concept" and "Teacher's Choice." We are trying to come to an agreement but our resources are not unlimited, whereas our planned purchases are vast.

Thus, one can only be pleased with the vastness of the plans to purchase the most important foreign films. But how do things stand with the films that are already being shown on our screens? How is the film distribution agency helping to get them to the viewer? What new forms of propagandizing the best examples of foreign film production is it putting into effect? These questions will be the subject of our next talk with one of the leaders of the film distribution agency.

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#### Academy Head Reproves Striving for 'Accessible' Art

18000118 Moscow OGONEK in Russian No 44, Oct 87 p 8

[Article by Boris Ugarov, Peoples' Artist of the USSR, president of the USSR Academy of Arts: "Realism Requires Boldness"]

[Text] The 15th Academy Exhibition is an affirmation of the fact that the contemporary, thinking audience values candid works, and supports those authors who are not afraid of touching on the most painful and complex problems; who see the viewer as a respected interlocutor and a potential hero of their works.

It has become a tradition to call any opening a festival, the more so a major artistic exposition such as the 15th Exhibition of the works of the members of the USSR Academy of Arts. And the creative accounting of the Academy's masters over the five years which have passed since the anniversary of the retrospective exposition, "225 Years of the USSR Academy of Arts, has not disappointed our expectations.

More than 1,350 works by 127 authors displayed a broad panorama of the creative aspirations which take in both historical and modern times—the glorious revolutionary past and the present day in our country; the heroic feat of the Soviet people in the Great Patriotic War; and the themes of the struggle for peace, international brotherhood, and the solidarity of all nations on the earth.

There were quite a few new canvases here, displayed for the first time in the exhibition hall.

It is important that the exposition was structured predominately according to the principle of monographic showings, which imposed personal responsibility for quality on each participant; and at the same time permitted each of them to hold a dialog with the viewers on a virtually limitless range of themes, emotions and images, with the intonation characteristic of the given author alone.

The distinguishing feature of the 15th Academic Exhibit was that for the first time, distinguished members of the Academy from various countries in the world took part: such outstanding contemporary artists as Herluf Bidstrup, Renato Guttuso, Giacomo Manzu, Svyatoslav Rerikh, Andrew Wyeth, Jan Effel, and others. Thereby the exhibit went beyond the bounds of a nationwide public showing, vividly bearing witness to the constantly expanding cultural collaboration with foreign masters, as well as with the creative establishments and organizations which are close to us in terms of their humanistic direction.

But, in thoroughly analyzing our achievements over the past five years it is difficult, or to put it more precisely, impossible, to speak of them in the spirit of victorious communiques alone.

In the process of organizing the exposition, quite a few frank and impartial remarks were made with respect to the ideological and artistic worthiness of certain works. I cannot say that all of our comrades calmly accepted the criticism addressed at them. Perhaps the most difficult thing about perestroika is—beginning it with yourself.

I have no doubt that had we displayed more collective adherence to principle during selection of the works, and at the same time greater attention and respect to the critical remarks of our own comrades, the creative face of the Academy and all of Soviet realistic art would have only profited, and we would not have to blush as we read the comments of the visitors: "For members of the academy, it is not enough to possess a high degree of technique and to demonstrate technique alone. One must have a feeling for the times. A number of the pictures could be attributed to the 19th Century."

Quite a few serious critical considerations were expressed by the artists, architects and art critics during the frank and principled discussion of the 15th Academic Exhibit; for all that, all the exhibitors unanimously valued the criticism as a qualitatively new stage with respect to previous exhibition practices, when the periodic reports by masters of the Academy quite often reminded one more of the salons of Spring or Fall etudes and sketches. I too tend to view the 15th Academic Exhibit as a significant advance even in comparison with the anniversary exhibit of 1983, where we came out so to speak under the cloak of our great predecessors.

I am convinced that those who visited the exhibit found in it a rich palette, which imbibed the colors of the various national artistic schools; which met their personal thoughts and aspirations, aroused their civic conscience, and permitted them to realize even more acutely their own communion with the concerns both great and small of the contemporary world.

Moreover, no matter how vast the present exhibit was, it could not completely encompass all that the collective of the USSR Academy of ARTs stands for today.

These include such extensive measures as our All Union Conference on Museum Affairs in the country; the meeting on problems of design; preparation of a program on aesthetic education for the secondary general educational schools; and others.

Of course the central questions remain those connected with creativity and the creation of new spiritual values worthy of our people and our dynamic way of life.

Without their resolution; without the restoration of the faith, partially lost in recent years, in the fact that our contemporary culture will bring us spiritual nourishment—the most important tasks of ideological-aesthetic education of the workers and young people, the training of a new creative generation, propaganda of the values of humanistic art, and the struggle with bourgeois ideology—cannot be truly successfully resolved.

The continuous assault on realism and on Soviet art in general on the part of our enemies is understandable. But when reproach is heard more and more often from the very audience for whom we create our works—moreover, well-founded reproach which concerns not the detail but the essence, the fundamental features of creativity—then it is time to sound the alarm.

I believe that a share of the blame for the spread of the dogmatic, one-sided perception of the spiritual and the plastic range of the realistic method of depicting reality lies also with those who, literally baptized with it, have attempted to reduce its essence to an honest transformation of certain of the discoveries of the great realists of the past into works "on a contemporary theme."

For me, realism consists not of some kind of definite manner of depiction, a strictly-prescribed choice of stylistic signs; rather, it consists of the living truth, embodied in an artistically convincing plastic form, which presupposes the creative inexhaustibility of the method of socialist realism and the impossibility in principle of reducing it to a canonical law of dogmatic rules and prescriptions.

Being a realist-artist, I am deeply convinced, means above all choosing and continuously making a choice between the social mission of art and elitist tendencies in art; between adhering to party principles of creativity and pure "classless" self-expression.

Speaking of the necessity for preserving, developing and multiplying the outstanding achievements of our great predecessors—in the school of realism, it is important to master the lessons of their great professional skill as well as their experience of civic virtue and boldness; to march ahead, to risk being misunderstood and unrecognized.

And at times we, in our altogether sincere strivings to be understood by the mass audience and accessible to him, at times as it happens begin to speak in some-kind of watered-down and oversimplified tongue, with a limited range of familiar themes and subjects; with an impoverished, graphic lexicon; with a narrow range of expressive means.

We in the arts have begun to measure our creative achievements not by the measure of the real man, the humanistic ideal, but with graphic representations of kilometers of rails and pipelines, towering cranes and blast furnaces, by the size of the "workman's muscles" and the width of the white-toothed smiles of the winners of the competition. And this in turn cannot but have a negative affect on the ability to see the reality of social life in all its complexity and contradictions, in its constant change and development. And this is why at many major thematic exhibits of the recent past, and in the works of many artists (especially on the subject-thematic plane), including those of celebrated artists, one would quite often encounter the heroic doubles, the personages of works of 20 and even 30 years ago, for which the spirit of modernity has already gone.

Unfortunately—and this is directly due to our neglect—among the young masters it has become the rather widespread practice to produce "manufactured" works on the required theme, according to well-known guaranteed recipes.

Of course in our days too there is a significant audience which is in essence accustomed, or more precisely, conditioned to a certain list of "necessary" subjects and traditional methods of depicting them. Not encountering them in an exposition, the viewer simply loses interest, or starts to accuse the authors of works unfamiliar to him of digressing from the principles of socialist realism, or of pandering to the influence of bourgeois ideology, and similar sins.

Creativity of the utmost openness demands special responsibility and fortitude: here neither appeals to past achievements nor high rank, right up to People's Artist of the USSR, will be of any help—although certain famous masters not so long ago showed a tendency to look on this title as a kind of shield, a guarantee against any and all criticism, and not as a testimonial of the confidence of the entire nation.

Incidentally, I do not share the position of those artistic figures who in their striving to personify the most radical forces of the changes taking place, try to carry out a

complete re-evaluation of the past and present achievements of culture, and substitute for them only the artistic values of others; and, having heaped abuse on certain of the well-known, currently prospering, and actively working masters, or certain major cultural establishments—exempt them from the restructuring, and write them off as incorrigible retrogrades and conservatives. On a purely human plane, bearing in mind human weaknesses, the desire to rapidly earn capital for oneself, to extract applause in the role of an indefatigable critic of alien matters and undertakings—is altogether understandable and explainable. But one can hardly let off without principled examination attempts to declare "civil war" in the arts and ascribe to oneself the right of the sole possessor of truth in the last instance.

The more difficult and at the same time more profitable way consists of a collective quest for the answer to the question, "What is to be done?", rather than "Who is to blame?". And to answer it by means of practical deeds, and new works worthy of our magnificent times. Soviet artists must take part in the nationwide perestroika jointly, in the name of our common interests.

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**Rock Music Clubs Organize at All-Union Level**  
18120049a Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English  
No 50, 20-27 Dec 87 p 12

[Article by Ilya Smirnov: "Rock Music As It Really Is"]

[Text] The All-Union Federation of Rock Clubs established at the conference in Sverdlovsk, attended by delegates from 27 Soviet cities, is a sort of First Division for tens of thousands of this country's rock groups.

It's the easiest thing in the world to start singing praises to the event. Indeed, Soviet rock fans could not have dreamt of it even a short time ago. But in order to understand who the delegates were and why they came together in Sverdlovsk, I should tell you first how the Soviet rock musicians live, work, write and perform their songs.

In mid-September, Soviet rock lovers held the biggest ever festival in Podolsk, near Moscow. It attracted more than 20 groups and over 15,000 fans. The festival was organized by the rock club of a comparatively small town.

Rock clubs for musicians, sound producers, managers and critics, with rules stipulating a democratic structure and the electivity of leadership, exist in almost every big city and operate quite openly with the support of non-governmental organizations such as the Young Communist League (in Riga), the Trade Union Council (in Leningrad), etc. Rock clubs are interested in this kind of

interaction to get sponsors for large festivals, and material, moral and organizational support. Naturally, it is easier to bring Soviet rock into the international arena through concerted effort.

The conference's main aim was to work out ways of uniting all the Soviet Union's rock clubs.

"We don't want to force any artificial structures on people," said Estonian delegate Nikolai Meinert, a sociologist. "What we are doing is legalizing the existing forms of cooperation."

This is how the Federation sprang up. There are no bosses or subordinates, no paid staff members or budget. All Soviet rock clubs, including the more prosperous Leningrad and Sverdlovsk associations, have agreed to contribute materially to the music by providing money, premises and equipment. The Federation's supreme body is the General Conference convened during major festivals. Each club, irrespective of the size of its membership or budget, has one vote. The Coordinating Council, representing the Federation in-between conferences, monitors the fulfillment of the decisions made by the majority.

The Sverdlovsk conference also adopted the Federation's Long-Term Programme stipulating the economic and legal principles of the development of Soviet rock music. Every form of art has not only specific aesthetic patterns, but also specific organizational patterns. A sculptor, for instance, has the right to sell his works to customers by agreement. If some standard price were fixed on all sculptures (depending say, on their weight) the noble art of sculpture would die out. The same applies to rock music. Why should the group which can draw 1,000 people ready to pay two roubles per ticket get just five roubles each for a concert? The so-called philharmonic societies treat musicians as employees rather than partners. Such an approach dates back to 1930 and is no longer suitable for the fundamentally new movement which emerged in the 1960s. Hence the numerous conflicts and injustices. The system of "artistic councils," "ratings," "authorization of lyrics," etc., is based exclusively "on a subjective evaluation," as the Long-Term Programme puts it. Counterposed to such forms of control over creative work and renumeration for it is the principle of equal contract between musicians and their customers. Under such an arrangement, supreme authority is vested not in individuals whose tastes differ, but in the law which bans anti-Sovietism, pornography and obscenity. This is the only way of guaranteeing fair and open competition in art.

Of course, the situation is by no means idyllic. The Moscow rock laboratory has not been admitted to the Federation because its appointed (not elected) leadership "have been using methods hardly compatible with the universal norms of human decency" in dealing with

musicians, to quote the same document. All the resolutions of the conference were adopted with surprising unanimity—something to be envied, perhaps, by the better recognized artistic unions.

The winds of change are sweeping away obsolete stereotypes and fears. By and by, it's become clear that rock music has nothing to do with the intrigues of the devil or CIA. It is yet another form of art, involving very hard work. It has its own problems, controversies and failures which cannot be overcome by simply setting up a Federation. To think otherwise would be unrealistic. However, the Federation is certainly capable of helping Soviet rock music develop independently, without adapting itself to outside forms.

08309

**New Documentary Film on Kirov Viewed**  
18120049b Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English  
No 50, 20-27 Dec 87 p 11

[Article by Alexander Plakhov]

[Text] "The question of this political assassination was raised at the 22nd Congress, but at the time was left unanswered. Today, too, one can also guess as to what really caused the tragedy..."

These words are heard at the end of the documentary. What the film does not show is the nationwide mourning in the first days of winter 1934, after the country had been shocked by the shot fired in Leningrad and when all the Sunday papers carried the obituary signed by the Party Central Committee and the government communication which said: "Secretary of the Central Committee and Secretary of the Leningrad Regional Committee of the CPSU (B) and member of the Presidium of the Central Executive Committee Sergei Mironovich Kirov died on December 1 at 16 hours 30 minutes in the city of Leningrad inside the building of the Leningrad Soviet (former Smolny) at the hands of a murderer sent by the enemies of the working class. The man was apprehended. His identity is being established."

Few documentary footages survive from that period. There is a sequence of the funeral showing pictures of Kirov framed in black, a poster above the crowd of mourners saying in the style of the times: "Our answer to Kirov's death will be a merciless blow at the remaining class enemies." Another sequence shows Stalin, his hand tucked behind the lapel of his greatcoat and his cap on, standing by the coffin with the body of Kirov mourned by people of Moscow and of the whole country in the House of Trade Unions. The camera zooms to the Kremlin Wall and the plaque with the three names: Kuibyshev, Kirov, Ordzhonikidze. Three lives. Three destinies. Three men of nearly the same age: 1888-1935, 1886-1934, 1886-1937.

This sequence appears at the beginning and end of the full-length documentary produced at the Leningrad Documentary Studio by L. Cherentsov with the script by A. Dinkevich. "The Time of Hope" is its name and it incorporates practically all archive footages, some are unique, about Sergei Kirov. This is a film about "an unblemished and staunch Party member, a Leninist Bolshevik," as he was described in the obituary of the Party Central Committee. This film is about "a fine person, one of the finest Party leaders, an ideal example of a proletarian, a master of culture," to quote Gorky. The film is also about the time which Kirov epitomized.

He arrived in Leningrad on January 5, 1926, together with the delegation of members of the Central Committee and the Central Control Commission of the CPSU (B) to consolidate the Party leadership. The "New Opposition" led by Politbureau members Lev Kamenev and Grigory Zinoviev vigorously opposed the Party's line of victory of socialism in one country. This dissenting position came under severe criticism just one month before, at the 14th Party Congress, but the ideological differences became still greater after the Congress. A leader was needed who could show initiative and take an effective lead in the struggle for the unity of Party ranks in Leningrad. The immediate choice of the Central Committee was Kirov and soon he became First Secretary of the Leningrad Regional Committee of the CPSU (B).

Kirov was good at hearing his opponents out and respecting their views. Here is his characteristic remark: "In our Bolshevik experience our relations have never been ideal. We are capable of being really tough. This is right. But we should not be so to excess. No skinning alive. Skin may be of some future use perhaps." So without "skinning" anybody alive, but using the power of word and persuasion, he proved the opposition to be wrong as he addressed groups of Party members without respite every day. There is much evidence of his having been a brilliant speaker, but the documentary shots of him speaking, of his eyes, energy and gestures, the confidence and light he exuded are the best evidence. People believed such speakers and wanted to follow them. It would be naive to think his success lay exclusively in his oratory. He had the courage of his convictions. He was knowledgeable. His was specific knowledge, political knowledge, knowledge of Marxism-Leninism. He readily relied on the masses. All that was in his character, part of his being, not just his experience.

As he fought the opposition, he was gaining the experience of socialist construction. It was at that time that Kirov argued that Leningrad could become a major industrial centre. He opposed the theory held by some Moscow economists about "Leningrad's decline" because the city was too far away from sources of fuel and raw materials. The absurd idea of moving the city's industries elsewhere was made more absurd because one in three persons there had no job. It was on Kirov's

initiative that the production of peat and the mining of shales were started, and huge raw material deposits surveyed in the Khibiny Mountains. Leningrad became a centre of technological progress, a fact that could not be denied either by passive observers or vigorous opponents. Kirov had also to fight the latter after 1926. While he was inclined to listen to ideological and political arguments of his opponents, he was quite sensitive to the "leader complex" and morbid ambition in some people. He said: "The trouble is that after Lenin's death some 'leaders,' for example, Trotsky, decided to regard themselves as his direct successors. Therein lies their main delusion. They are not aware of the fact that after the death of the great teacher there remains only one successor—our Communist Party, and no one else can lay claim to this greatest of honours..."

These words are heard in the film twice, which is only logical because this man, even after his death, was putting up a fight against the opposition from high up which inflicted irreparable damage on his country and Party—by violating standards set by Lenin, by trampling on democracy, by binding themselves with the idea of their own infallibility. In whatever capacity, be it Chairman of the Military-Revolutionary Committee of the Astrakhan Region in 1919 or as head of the Party organization of Azerbaijan in the 1920s, Kirov never lost modesty and he always communicated with his subordinates, was self-controlled and critical of himself. He did not have double standards about self-conceit which, he thought, was beginning to show in some Party, trade union and economic officials. It is because Kirov was a stranger to self-conceit that he took part in putting down the fire at an oil field, visited the slums in Baku to improve life in the feudal, medieval city. When in Leningrad he tackled both major and "petty" problems like the construction and running of public bathhouses, and checking the quality of matches.

On occasions he could be tough and uncompromising. Addressing the 15th Party Congress which expelled Trotsky, Zinoviev and Kamenev from the Party, he said: "All that is getting under the feet, that vacillates and doubts should be dumped down the precipice of history..."

But it was the same man who together with Ordzhonikidze sought permission for Professor Ramzin to continue his research in Leningrad. As head of the Industrial Party, Ramzin had been arrested, sentenced to execution by firing squad, but then miraculously pardoned. Such things could still happen in the early 30s. In subsequent years Ramzin was decorated with the Order of Lenin and the Order of the Red Banner for Labour and awarded the Stalin Prize. Kirov also managed to clear other experts of charges and to get them involved in preparing blueprints for blooming mills, the White Sea-Baltic Canal and so on.

He could not begin his address at the 17th Party Congress because of the long ovation, and that atmosphere of confidence and affinity for him captured on film is

rather revealing. By the fatal year, 1934, he was among the most popular Party leaders. This popularity had its roots in his tireless work, his 16-hour working day, his impassioned speeches and his broad smiles. Once, when Kirov reported the tripling of production by Leningrad factories, he suddenly came up with this aside: "Damn it, plainly speaking, it makes you want to go on living." He was to live, but less than one year more.

He went on to combat excesses in the collectivization of agriculture, and accomplished many other things. On the eve of December 1 he came home late, as he usually did, and sat down at his favourite desk to draft a speech on the abolition of ration cards... But he was fated to be shot, and the shot did not come from a rifle with a telescopic sight raised by Josif Stalin in the famous film sequence, but rather from a weapon used by the opposition, blind with envy at such genuine human beauty, and fearing it.

08309

#### Film Union Plenum Examines 'Relapses' Into Past

18120049c Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English  
No 51, 27 Dec 87-3 Jan 88 p 3

[Article by Boris Berman: "The Bystander's Risk"]

[Text] Questions must be dealt with in good order, one at a time. In trying to answer all of them at once we run the risk of getting no answer at all. This rule applies to everyday life, and is especially true in the arts.

Eighteen months ago, the 5th Congress of the USSR Film Makers Union formulated the question "Who is to blame?" (for the deplorable condition of our cinematography). The answer was found. A new leadership of the Film Makers Union was elected and immediately plunged into feverish organizational activity. According to experts, the per capita working load on the Board has grown 25-fold. An American producer sarcastically commented on the situation in which artists are placed in charge of the arts, saying: "Well, every madman dreams of becoming director of his madhouse."

The joke was recalled more than once during the recent Plenum of the Film Makers Union. No amount of sarcasm, however, can belittle the results of the past 18 months of perestroika in the Soviet film world. A working comradely relationship has been established with the USSR State Committee for Cinematography; the notorious "shelf" (on which many unorthodox pictures gathered dust for years) has been almost cleared; and last but not least, a new model of the film industry has been developed, which is capable of transferring Soviet cinematography from the rusty administrative and bureaucratic rails to economic ones. No one seems to be denying the potential advantages of the new model, but

unfortunately it can only provide an economic motivation, not a creative urge. Cinematography, however, is impossible without creativity.

It is at this point that the question, "What is to be done?" comes to the forefront. The Plenum was expected to provide at least some answers pertaining to artistic and creative problems. Do the newly released films reflect the heightened temperature of the day? How does Soviet cinematography see the future? It is capable of fully comprehending the past once it gets rid of long-standing taboos? Why do many documentaries bear the stamp of the times, while the majority of new feature films are hardly distinguishable from those made five to ten years earlier?

All those problems were raised at the Plenum, but the answer to the question, "What is to be done?" that is to say, a detailed programme of creative search, was not formulated. Perhaps it couldn't have emerged as soon. An artist, as distinct from a comfort-seeking drudge, needs time. "The fact that we, writers, tend to keep silent about things happening under our very noses is due to timidity which has nothing to do with our creative potential," Pasternak acknowledged soon after the Revolution. "It is so because we are all dazed by the novelty of what's happened..." Historical parallels smack of scholasticism, but I personally feel like accepting this important piece of evidence as an explanation for today's situation—not only in cinematography, of course.

Film makers are being looked up at with hope and admiration in other artistic unions. The results of the efforts by the "Klimov crew" (the popular name for the new leadership of the Film Makers Union) are viewed by many as the realization of every individual's dream of real independence in his or her profession regarded as a calling and a cause. But there are people who will rejoice should the dreams and aspirations of the Film Makers Union fail to come true. The stakes are very high. Speakers at the Plenum reported a number of relapses into our bureaucratic past. Film director Sergei Solovyov told his colleagues that the Moscow film distributors, in defiance of the State Committee for Cinematography's order, banned the gala premiere of his new feature, "Assa," conceived as a youth culture show. The ban is motivated by the fact that a cultural event of that kind has never been held before. Anything new and unusual is anathema to bureaucrats. "They keep telling me they are consulting appropriate authorities. I wonder who the appropriate authorities are?" Sergei Solovyov pleaded. The answer came from the writer Ales Adamovich: "They are consulting Joseph Stalin." A grim but apt metaphor.

Risk is inherent in every conflict. Only the bystanders run no risk, except for this: when the goal is attained, it is the people who strove and persevered who get the tribute, while the bystanders remain bystanders.

08309

**Film Premier Featuring Rock Groups Cancelled**  
18120049d Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English  
3-10 Jan 88 p 4

[Article by Natalya Davydova, Alexander Treplev]

[Text] The Krug Association of Mosfilm Studios has released the film "Assa" by director Sergei Solovyov. It is a thriller and has a lot of rock music. However, the premiere, scheduled for December 11 at the Udarnik movie theatre, did not take place.

What were we denied?

Film director Sergei Solovyov and people who think like him had thought up something new. The film premiere "Assa" in the Udarnik Cinema was to be accompanied by performances by famous rock-groups from Moscow and Leningrad, an avant-garde fashion parade, a New Painting Art exhibition, sales of records with song-hits from "Assa" and a lot of other things. Altogether, it was being advertised as ART-ROCK-PARADE "ASSA."

Intended as more than a film premiere, the idea was to reform the very concept of "cinema," and transform it into a festive cultural centre. And the festival promised to bring dividends.

The USSR State Committee for Cinematography (Goskino) permitted the experiment. Preparatory work went on for several months. However, L. Vanyan, director of the Udarnik Cinema, had a change of heart ten days before the premiere. V. Ploshchansky, chief of the film release administration of Moscow, supported him. Hundreds of people had done a tremendous amount of work, and many had volunteered their time out of sheer enthusiasm. And it took only two people to throw a wrench into the works.

Why was it banned?

At first they played their best cards: the entire programme was labeled as ideologically harmful. Resorting to overkill, simply because you don't know how else to object. Was there need to prove that popular musicians are not anti-Soviet even though they have already given concerts abroad and have taken part in films?

The cinemas are losing money. Udarnik, for example, has 1,206 seats. Thirty or so people come to the day showings and some 300—to evening showings. 600 movie-goers came to Udarnik throughout December 7 and on December 8—500. "Assa" promised 5,000. Udarnik's daily receipts make 500-600 roubles. "Assa" promised 9,000 roubles. But even such an obvious economic boom did not override this ban of the new, the unusual.

The trouble, however, is that bans are out of fashion right now. So a less terrible but a more tangible reason was concocted. It was said that the ceiling would cave in and that the floor would sink. How, by what logic, did the director assess that famous cinema was so fragile? How come this fragility didn't bother him during profitable film festivals? Fire inspectors got involved in the ban three days before the premiere.

Where have they been in the past? Why weren't ideological, architectural and possible fire hazards brought to light in August when Udarnik was chosen for the premiere site, or in October when Goskino signed the order? Why on the eve of the premiere? Why so late?

"Better late than never," Ploshchansky answered us, smiling.

They didn't think very hard. Some "unknown persons" annihilated rows of artwork. The day after "Assa" was not premiered a heap of planks and glass wool was dumped at the Udarnik. "We're starting building a videosalon," the director said.

"Assa" got run over by a truck-full of glass wool.

The artists spoke about today. The administrators remembered what happened yesterday.

We do not belong to unconditional admirers of the film. It is drawn-out in places and some parts of the plot are unrealistic. But at issue here is not the film.

The premiere, announced for December 11, was aborted. The artists tried to defend themselves and even went on the offensive. The December 9 Plenary Meeting of the Film Makers Union made note of the "unsatisfactory work done by the current leadership of the Moscow Film Release Administration." On December 12, on the TV Vzglyad programme it was said that the premiere was "postponed." On December 15 the Yunost radio station broadcast the angry speech by Sergei Solovyov at the Plenary Meeting of the Film Makers Union and the ludicrous objections by Ploshchansky. The radio broadcast assured that "it would all end well."

But it hasn't ended well. The programme has disintegrated and cannot be repaired. The decor has been dismantled and the musicians have left—some to Leningrad, others to Alma-Ata to be in a film, still others—to tour the USA. Another film is currently on at Udarnik. It's being shown to an audience of 30.

It is an interesting situation—glasnost exists in theory only. The public of lifting the ban, but the ban remains. It has done so quickly, silently, as if there were no glasnost. What, then, is glasnost—a pressure valve to let off steam, or a tool by which people can wage a struggle for democracy? The public has shouted in favour, but

has failed to achieve anything. The film "Assa" was premiered last Sunday at the Cinema Club. It was for a narrow circle of spectators, a regular affair—as "it should be."

08309

### Artists Demand More Debate on Union's Draft Rules

18120056a Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English  
No 3, 24-31 Jan 88 p 15

[First paragraph is introduction; passages in boldface as published]

[Excerpts] The Congress of Soviet artists will open in Moscow on 19 January. Today's Playbill deals with certain issues in Soviet visual arts. Our artists' achievements are generally known and recognized. Yet pressing problems abound. We are raising these questions in the hope that they will be answered at the forthcoming Congress.

The Congress intends to adopt the new Rules of the Artists Union.

Do the new Rules meet the current requirements? Why wasn't the draft published in **Sovetskaya Kultura**? Why wasn't it discussed by the grass-roots organizations?

Mikhail Lushnikov, Party Bureau Secretary of the Moscow branch of the Artists Union, sharply criticized the draft at the December Plenum of the USSR Artists Union. He said Moscow artists rejected the draft because the drafters seemed to have either never attended the meetings of grass-roots organizations or sat through them without listening. There's a lot of centralism in the draft Rules, but no democracy, the Party organizer said.

The truth of his statement was confirmed there and then. M. Lushnikov's motion—to postpone the adoption of the Rules and until the draft is democratically discussed and revised—was not put to a vote. It was just ignored.

### The Last Provision

Article 56 in the draft Rules reads as follows: "The USSR Artists Union may be disbanded by a resolution of the Union's Congress or by government decree."

Who wrote that? Could that be an artist?

What's the good of humiliating yourselves by accepting that the government might feel like doing away with an artistic union, to say nothing of your obliging readiness to vanish without a fight?

What's the good of such hypocrisy? Should the government decide to disband the Union—God forbid—would it need the authorization of the Union's Rules to do so?

I could imagine such people carrying the cord for the hangman's noose. How can they be trusted with drafting Rules?

### Proposal

The Playbill was about to go to press when the editors received this letter.

The draft Rules say nothing about the main proposal supported by the majority: artists and art critics should have the right to set up groups and associations having the legal status of a juridical person. These associations should be the organizational, creative and productive basis of the USSR Artists Union.

To establish democracy, glasnost and common dignity, we propose the following:

- postpone the adoption of the Rules till July 1988,
- publish the revised draft Rules in **Sovetskaya Kultura** before April 1988, with all the amendments suggested by the grass-roots organizations;
- run a regular column in **Sovetskaya Kultura** about the debate on the draft Rules.

All proposals should be forwarded to the newspaper which should act as mediator and mouthpiece in the public debate.

The Rules, as a document of vital importance, can only be adopted by an All-Union Conference after wide public discussion. There's no alternative to this procedure. Words about democracy must be matched by democratic deeds.

/12913

### Film Featuring Released Political Prisoners Reviewed

18120056b Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English  
No 3, 24-31 Jan 88 p 13

[Reflections on the film 'The Cold Summer of 1953'; passages in boldface as published]

[Text] Mosfilm's "The Cold Summer of 1953" (directed by Alexander Proshkin with screenplay by Edgar Dubrovsky, see MN No. 1) created much stir and controversy during the studio previews. The tenor of the discussions and the range of topics they spanned guarantee that, when finally released, the screening of the film will become a signal event in the country's public and political life. Such was the case with Tengiz Abuladze's "Repentance" where raw life burst onto the silver screen with its fundamental head-on collisions and unaffected passions.

In the words of the makers of "The Cold Summer," they wanted everything to be plain in their film, and I frankly welcome this approach. Indeed, what can be more plain and artless than the truth? When you hear a plain and true word instead of sly hints thrust on you, your imagination is stirred and you feel like asking new questions.

I do believe that everyone will be asking their own questions after seeing the film. Here are some I found myself asking.

How did it happen? Why were six cutthroats released from prison under the general amnesty declared on the death of Stalin (or was it to mark his death)? I still clearly remember the summer of 1953 and the wave of hardcore criminals released, for some incomprehensible reason, from prisons and camps. So why were these six friends, hungry and weary from roaming the northern forests, and not really armed able to invade and subdue a whole village in a matter of hours, move into a house, get free "grub," weapons, and power? Why?

The film contains an honest and almost documentary answer if you watch attentively as the camera slowly glides over the abandoned village homes, their windows and doors ripped off, the portraits of Stalin and Beria on the walls, the weed-filled vegetable gardens, and if you lend your ear to the snatches of conversations among the village folk that mirror the moral and political climate of those terrible years. **A society eroded by mistrust, fear, suspicion, people informing on each other. A society bled dry by the terror. A society where freedom, dignity and the independence of the individual are suppressed is simply unable to rebuff bandit violence, it is simply unprepared for resistance.**

That small village is inhabited by men who are far from being old and sick and women who are far from being stupid or fainthearted, and it turns out that the men are well armed because they are trappers and hunters. Yet this bunch of six weary, hungry and, in fact, cowardly criminals gets the upper hand. They swiftly organized themselves into a murderous dictatorship, a clear-cut pecking order and proceeded to rob the villagers of their possessions and food, and to rape their women. The villagers did not regard their former life as paradisal, but what they face is real hell. It is often the case that people unfree in one way lapse into a still worse degree of subjugation.

Where is the way out? Who can break this devilish chain of multiplying evil? Who will be the first to put up a fight?

Two strange individuals come on to the screen and vanish during almost half the film. There is not much the audience can learn about them at first: having served their sentences in the prison camps the "enemies of the people" are in for a very long term in exile in the remote northern village. Both look unwashed and degenerate.

Both call each other by nicknames Kopalych (Anatoly Papanov's last role) is always busy doing something in a mechanical sort of way while his sickly partner, Luzga (splendidly played by Valery Priyomkykhov), is listless and silent. Both quarrel wearily. As we see Luzga hasten to pick up the cigarette and thrown to the ground by a militiaman, and the ridiculous way the winter cap sits on Kopalych's head, we get a more complete picture of the two decrepit labour camp inmates.

The Stalin-and-Beiria camps have taken from them all that can be taken from someone already robbed of freedom—their life work, honest name and families, memories of their own past, hope for the future, human dignity. Even their own names have been replaced by idiotic nicknames.

Left unwatched they escape from the terrorized village, away from this hell. They flee like pursued game into the thick of the forest...

Some people are bound to say after having seen the film: "But that's what the times did to the people." As if people were mere pawns.

I disagree. Whatever the times, human conscience always remains, it cannot be taken away under any circumstances, if it was there to start with, that is.

Kopalych and Luzga have lost all but their conscience. Urged by his conscience an unarmed Luzga comes to the rescue of a village girl being raped by one of the bandits and kills him.

What ensues is gunplay, as is to be expected of any decent western.

Political prisoners (this is the first time we have seen them in our movies) destroyed the criminal gang and restored to the village people the meagre freedom that was nearly taken away from them. So, the two triumph over the six.

Still the film is not a western with the usual happy ending. It does not end on a happy note. But generally speaking, the important thing about a work of art is the graphic lesson it teaches and the questions it raises rather than its genre, or style.

Is it possible to remain **human** under any circumstances? What should be done?

As you watch the film you'll see that as soon as Luzga and Kopalych declared war on the bandits they regained their past memories and dreams of the future and started to call each other by their real names—Sergei Basargin and Nikolai Skorobogatov.

Note how the grey-haired engineer Skorobogatov straightens up as he raises to his feet to go into his last mortal battle with the bandits. Pay attention to Sergei

telling his wife, son and grandson about him: "He didn't die, he was killed in action." That battle changes Sergei Basargin, too—his face, his bearing, his gait are all changed.

Watch out for such "minor details"—the two, sharing the last bit of food they have, starting respectfully calling each other by their true names, regaining human dignity as they begin the battle.

Such people in the film (in real life, too) are a minority. They are few and far between. But sooner or later there comes a time when people who retained their conscience come forward to save the nation, society, the country, the world. It is such a moment that "The Cold Summer" portrays.

One of the most worthy and courageous people I have ever met said this about a faraway town in the North, built by forced labour: "A terrible town—I mean no

offence to the unfortunate ones who built it. Slaves can erect a giant pyramid or an aqueduct, but slaves cannot build a Rome. Really beautiful things can only be created by free people."

Today we want our new world to be built by free people hence we need "The Cold Summer" lesson: **freedom and human dignity cannot be expected to fall into your lap. They can be got in a struggle against evil. Only in a struggle.**

I anticipate someone's objection that the film is about something else and that this writer sees in it what he wants to.

Well, frankly speaking, that's true. I did want to see what I saw. I feared I wouldn't, but luckily I did.

/12913

**Republic MVD Officials Discuss Restructuring on  
Militia Day**

**Belorussian Minister**

18000131a Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian  
10 Nov 87 p 3

[Interview with Lieutenant General of Internal Service V. A. Piskarev, Belorussian SSR deputy minister of internal affairs by BELTA correspondent V. Levin: "Being Faithful to Duty"; date and place of interview not given]

[Excerpts][Question] Unfortunately, irregularities were allowed to occur in the years of stagnation in the work of internal affairs organs. The Mozyr, Vitebsk and other "cases" are known to all. Their causes are known as well. What is being done to exclude irregularities?

[Answer] This issue is mandatorily being raised in every labor collective to which associates of the Belorussian militia are making reports.

Personnel of internal affairs organs are learning serious lessons from those bitter cases where blameless people were subjected to criminal punishment. Specific measures are being implemented to raise the responsibility of our personnel, to put our own house in order and to improve our operations and services. Commissions to monitor the lawfulness of our actions have been created in many organs. Measures to reinforce lawfulness are regularly examined at all levels, and in the party and Komsomol organizations. Greater demands are being imposed on executives and associates for fulfilling their official duty and for the strictest possible compliance with the law.

Priority significance is attached to glasnost—the most important instrument for raising discipline and responsibility. All issues are resolved not privately but with the wide participation of active members. Measures to reduce the turnover of executives in the ministry's administrative system, in oblast internal affairs administrations and locally have been implemented. By decision of the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee the party and Komsomol committees and labor collectives are sending communists, Komsomol members and the best production workers to work in the militia. Today almost 40 percent of the personnel in the Belorussian militia are CPSU members and candidate members.

Expansion of glasnost and reinforcement of ties with labor collectives are going a long way to promote eradication of law violations. Militia section inspectors are undergoing public certification in the production collectives. Laborers are being informed about cases where citizens are subjected to unjustified punishment, and

about the steps taken against those at fault in this regard. Ministry and administration executives are making themselves available directly to the public via radio, television and periodicals.

It is extremely important for us to know what public opinion on the work of the militia is. Displeasure chiefly with the form in which the militia deals with people, and with the red tape encountered by requests and petitions, is still being expressed in discussions with citizens, in their letters and on questionnaires. This is why an effort is being made everywhere to set things in order, and why reports of law violations are being acted upon. Each person who does business with the militia receives a receipt showing the date on which the application to the militia was made.

Requirements on the quality of investigations have risen, and prejudice is being decisively eradicated. Detention of citizens on suspicion of criminal violations has decreased by more than half. Use of suppressive measures such as confining a person under guard has been restricted.

[Question] In the years of stagnation we saw only the public side of the activities of the keepers of the peace. The errors and mistakes were never reported then, not to mention criminal actions by officials. The policy of glasnost has uncovered the flaws of such a practice. The public has learned that organized crime does exist here, and that in a number of places militia workers acquired the habit of ignoring the law. Can we be assured that this will not happen again?

[Answer] Unfortunately roughness, caddishness, red tape, carelessness, falsification of documents and abuse of official position have not yet been eradicated from our environment. Cases occur where militia associates compromise with their conscience and even commit crimes. This is an indication of serious flaws in the educational work of our executives, political workers and party and Komsomol organizations. The issue has been stated quite categorically: He who ignores the law, who betrays the interests of the people and who shows no regard for the title and honor of an associate of internal affairs organs has no place in the ranks of the soldiers of law and order.

[Question] In what way is the work of the main headquarters of the internal affairs organs—of the ministry—being restructured?

[Answer] In order to improve organization of official duties and work with personnel we have assumed a course toward reducing paperwork: We have sharply reduced the number of orders, instructions and directives sent to local organizations. Another path has been selected for today. Once a year teams of experienced ministry associates visit each internal affairs division to study public opinion on its activities, organize meetings with labor collectives, acquaint themselves thoroughly

with executive discipline and socialist legality, conduct exercises and training sessions and provide practical assistance in organizing the fight against crime.

The Belorussian SSR Ministry of Internal Affairs has developed and is now implementing an integrated program titled "Personnel" which foresees daily, meticulous work to improve the selection and education of all categories of associates. We are making sure that every candidate for service in the militia undergoes thorough testing in the work environment and confirms the recommendation of the party or Komsomol committee and the labor collective.

In order to improve occupational proficiency, republic training centers for junior officers of the militia and fire protection service have been expanded. An executive advanced training faculty was opened in the Minsk Higher School of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs. The section inspector service was made stronger by reducing the size of the administration. A new structure was introduced into the investigative subdivisions. A decision was made to test the personnel's knowledge of the laws and other standards annually.

The Ministry of Internal Affairs and the Belorussian Telegraph Agency organized public information on the fight against crime and on various incidents under the rubric "Militia Telephone Number—02." This is making it possible to put investigation of dangerous crimes under the control of the public, to make wider use of the public's help and to dispel unhealthy rumors.

[Question] The fight against drug addiction and prostitution—phenomena which we "took no notice of" just recently—has now entered upon a new stage, a stage of glasnost. Is this helping in the work? Working under the conditions of glasnost is obviously something that investigators, agents and associates of other services are not accustomed to. Are they finding it easy to restructure their work, and has it become more effective as a result?

[Answer] The activities of militia associates have always demanded high responsibility and competency. Sooner or later anyone who did not possess such qualities left us.

But undercover agents would find themselves in a ludicrous situation if every Tom, Dick and Harry knew of the details of the work of criminal investigation or of the BKhSS [Struggle Against Embezzlement of Socialist Property and Speculation] service. It is another thing when the public is informed that a crime has been committed or that one has been discovered, and when it has the possibility for providing assistance to the investigation.

It is pleasant to note that the "Militia Telephone Number—02" information service has started encouraging people to act. Thus for example it was reported that

people were concocting narcotic potions at the home of A. Amangeldyev, a fitter at the Sovkhoz imeni N. Gastello in Molodechnenskiy Rayon.

The illegal venture was being carried on by relatives of his wife from Turkmenistan—K. Tuvakov and his wife S. Kokayeva. Criminal proceedings were initiated. I am certain that such contact between the public and militia agents is extremely useful.

I must agree that until recently, many problems were not discussed in the press, the "ulcers" got worse, and there were no cures to be found. This pertains to both drug abuse and prostitution.

Recently we conducted a seminar-conference of criminal investigators involved in the fight against drug addiction. We invited comrades from other departments and organizations, we discussed the problem, and we outlined the strategy to be taken against this evil.

And of course, we await active assistance from journalists as well.

[Question] It is no secret that the nationwide war on drunkenness has produced an increase in moonshining. Strict laws are not deterring people from this practice, and many are even utilizing accomplishments of scientific-technical progress. It is being said in this connection that perhaps the fight against drunkenness is too severe. What can you say about this?

[Answer] In a recent "direct line" appearance I presented the following figures: This year 216,000 persons were punished for public drunkenness, 2,500 adults were punished for contributing to the drunkenness of minors, and just the militia alone drew up 15,000 reports on drunkenness at the work place. A total of 4,600 stills were confiscated, and 99,000 liters of illegally produced liquor and home-brewed beer were destroyed.

Decisive measures have made it possible to put significant pressure on drunkenness and to tangibly improve the moral climate in society, in the labor collectives and in the family.

Mortality, injuries, absenteeism and disciplinary violations have decreased.

[Question] Please excuse me, Viktor Alekseyevich, for asking questions that seem so out of place on the eve of your anniversary celebration. But V. I. Lenin himself said that the best way to celebrate an anniversary is to focus attention on unresolved problems.

[Answer] We have more than enough problems, and they compel us to seek new ways and means of solving them. The party has indicated the direction we need to take. M. S. Gorbachev said the following at a solemn meeting dedicated to the 70th anniversary of Great October:

"...the wider and deeper democracy is, the more attention we need to give to socialist legality and law and order and the more organization and conscious discipline we need." This is the principle on which we will base our work.

[Question] Thank you for an honest and frank interview.

**Kirghiz Minister**  
18000131b Frunze SOVETSKAYA KIRGIZIYA in  
Russian 10 Nov 87 p 3

[Interview with Major General of Militia Viktor Vasilievich Goncharov, Kirghiz SSR minister of internal affairs, by A. Galunichev: "...and with Clean Hands"; date and place not given]

[Excerpts] The year of the 70th anniversary of October and the 70th anniversary of the Soviet militia was unusually full for the republic's internal affairs organs. The stiff requirements of the well known decree "On Further Strengthening of Socialist Legality and Law and Order and Reinforcement of the Protection of the Rights and Legal Interests of Citizens," the change of leadership in the highest echelon of the Kirghiz SSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, and the logic of the restructuring effort were responsible for this. The way in which these changes affected the activities of our militia is discussed in this interview with Major General of Militia Viktor Vasilievich Goncharov, the republic's minister of internal affairs.

[Question] I have had occasion to write about violations of socialist legality by workers of the militia. But these were only cases that were made public as a result of glasnost. There are obviously more of them, as is evidenced by letters to the editor. In what way is the problem of improving personnel work being solved in the course of the restructuring effort?

[Answer] You are right when you say that violators of legality have not yet mended their ways. But it stands to reason that they are not the ones who define the countenance of the militia worker. Measures are implemented in response to every violation of the law we discover, and every substantiated complaint from the public. In 9 months of this year 72 workers of internal affairs organs were punished for violations of socialist legality. This is twice more than last year. Fifteen of them have been sentenced. And we will not weaken this housecleaning effort in the future, even if reports on our performance have to suffer somewhat. Militia personnel must be not only highly professional but also irreproachable in moral respects; "their hands must be clean" is the way Feliks Dzerzhinskiy, a worker of the Extraordinary Commission for Combatting Counterrevolution and Sabotage, defined one of the main traits of a militia worker with such absolute accuracy.

Commissions to monitor compliance with legality have now been created in all subdivisions, personnel selection has been made stricter, and the demand for irreproachable fulfillment of official duty by the personnel has been increased.

[Question] Viktor Vasilyevich, to what degree has glasnost affected the activities of internal affairs organs? What sort of contacts do you see between the press and the ministry? A proposal has been made, by the way, to initiate a column in the newspaper that would regularly and promptly report incidents and measures taken against violators of the law among internal affairs workers.

[Answer] Yes, glasnost is a multifaceted problem, and it is of paramount importance to us. And I can now say that some forms of glasnost have become the rule for us. They include participation of representatives of local party and soviet organs and public organizations in the certification of militia section inspectors, regular reports by executives of militia services, associates of the State Motor Vehicle Inspection, investigators and section inspectors to labor collectives and town meetings, "open letter days," and participation of newspaper reporters in meetings of the governing board, operational conferences and party meetings of internal affairs organs. Glasnost is becoming the law of our internal life as well. The reserve of personnel for promotion is formed, and personnel are appointed and transferred openly, with regard for the opinions of party and Komsomol organizations and all personnel.

The republic's Ministry of Internal Affairs has implemented a specially written "Glasnost Expansion Program," which is a system of measures to illuminate the daily affairs and problems of internal affairs organs in the mass media.

But to be frank, the possibilities of the press are still being utilized extremely inadequately in this respect. As a result various rumors often circulate among the public, and laborers know hardly anything about the actual state of affairs in the fight against crime.

I agree with the proposal for publishing regular reports on the work of our services. This will provide a possibility for informing the public more widely and fully, and for shaping public opinion. Let us work together. We also need "direct-line" interviews, press conferences and briefings.

[Question] Preservation of socialist property is not only a social but also an economic task. Now that production operations are converting to cost accounting and self-financing, and now that cooperation and private labor are developing, the situation is perhaps growing dramatically more complex. Do the BKhSS services have control over the situation, are they prepared for the changes?

[Answer] The fight against embezzlement, bribery, speculation and unearned income has been, is and will continue to be one of the main tasks of the militia. But I must admit that BKhSS services owe the people a great deal at the moment. It is true that many internal affairs organs are still using primitive means to prevent transgressions against socialist property. They are conducting their work from the narrow viewpoint of the militia, and their work is not distinguished by any depth of economic analysis. We can no longer work this way. Now that enterprises are converting to cost accounting and self-financing, now that cooperation, the family contract and private labor are developing, and now that the rights of enterprises are expanding and economic legislation is being updated, the functions of the militia and the BKhSS service are changing dramatically. Our task is to create the machinery and organize our work in such a way that the activities of BKhSS services would not inhibit development of labor, initiative and economics while at the same time preventing accumulation of unearned income or enrichment at the expense of the state and the Soviet people. Consider the problems of cooperatives and the family contract as an example. It is in the interests of the society to develop private labor and free markets, it is in the interests of the society to encourage and stimulate conscientious private work.

But on the other hand we cannot underestimate the possibility of negative consequences. We need to take a look and see if some of our former clientele—speculators, embezzlers, persons previously convicted for mercenary crimes—are taking advantage of official protection in order to sell previously stolen capital and to grow even richer at the expense of the state and the working people. Such things are going on.

[Question] Judging from press reports we are not finding it possible to halt the growth of drug abuse, drunkenness and parasitism. The impression is created that the militia is not doing all it can in this regard. Is this so?

[Answer] This is a serious question, one concerned with acute, socially urgent problems. It is practically impossible to answer it briefly. To be forthright, we are seriously troubled by the present situation in the fight against drug abuse. It would be more proper to speak not of growth in drug abuse but of the legacy of the time of silence. Now we have to make up for lost time, and take the initiative in our hands. Let me cite a few figures—they speak themselves. Last year militia workers confiscated over 600 kilograms of narcotics and raw materials for their manufacture, which was 2.4 times more than last year. Audacious mercenary crimes are committed under the influence of narcotics: Seventy percent of all thieves and burglars used drugs.

At the same time I must admit frankly that the republic's internal affairs organs are only just beginning to make a real effort in this area. The approach taken to the struggle against this social evil has been too simple. We are basically dealing with what is on the surface: We arrest

petty offenders, we seek out marijuana and poppy plantations, and we ourselves destroy wild marijuana—something not in our normal line of work. By this superficial approach we only force the disease underground. We are absolutely dissatisfied with the organization of the struggle against the most malevolent elements of the drug trade—the distributors, the dealers and the proprietors of drug hangouts. This effort is being amplified.

Now a few words about drunkenness. It has once again gone over to the offensive. The results of 9 months work indicate that it has spread significantly. This year 12.4 percent of all crimes were committed under the influence of alcohol. Almost 60 percent of all murders, serious bodily injuries and acts of vandalism were committed under the influence. That is, a weakening of the struggle against this evil is graphically obvious. What is alarming is that the virus of "moonshine disease" has now afflicted not only inveterate alcoholics but also some outwardly viable families. In just the last 2 months we revealed 461 cases of distillation and storage of strong homemade alcoholic beverages, we confiscated 84 stills, and we arrested 1,340 drunk drivers. This I emphasize was just in the last 2 months. We believe that we can improve the struggle against drunkenness and illegal alcohol production by widening our ties with the labor collectives and the public, and by strengthening administrative and legal measures employed in active preventive and educational work.

[Question] Recently during a rally of young associates of internal affairs organs you compared our motor highways to a theater of military operations: In 10 months of this year, 563 persons died and 2,590 were injured in 2,776 accidents. If the statistics are reflecting a growing trend, does this mean that this important area of the work has grown weaker? I have heard many times from drivers that Frunze is famous for its abundance of prohibitory road signs. Moreover, drivers cite cases of extortion on the part of associates of the State Motor Vehicle Inspection in frank interviews. What can be said in this regard?

[Answer] I need to emphasize for the sake of objectivity that the state motor vehicle inspection is in fact lacking in this area: The discipline of drivers on the roads is still low, and effective departmental surveillance and the needed preventive measures are lacking. This means that surveillance must be made stricter. Executives of a number of ministries, departments and transportation organizations are not doing what they can to achieve accident-free work. Just the transportation system of the Gosagroprom alone is responsible for 40 percent of all motor vehicle accidents. Traffic safety commissions are not having their required influence yet. Organs of public education are reluctant to take part in the efforts to prevent injuries among children. Or consider this fact: Twelve percent of all traffic accidents have occurred due to bad roads. The number of hazardous road sections has increased from 2,500 to 3,600, and the Ministry of

Motor Transportation and Highways spends a large share of assets intended for overhaul on construction of new roads. Judge for yourself who is responsible for such woeful statistics, for the misery of thousands of people!

Let us consider another problem: Frunze had 5,365 road signs. Because many did in fact do nothing to reduce the accident rate, we took down 1,869 of the prohibitory signs.

And finally, certain associates of the road patrol service of the State Motor Vehicle Inspection of Frunze's internal affairs administration were fired for extortion and for taking bribes from drivers this year: E. Baygaziyev, V. Sheremet, V. Minenko and Ye. Kachkimbayev. A. Akimaliye, an inspector of the road patrol service working in the administration of the State Motor Vehicle Inspection of the republic's Ministry of Internal Affairs, was fired as well. I would like to recommend to drivers that they refrain from trying to clear up "misunderstandings" with bribes, and to report extortionists immediately. What we need is not talk just between ourselves, but action: We need to expel those with dirty hands from our ranks. This would be a real help.

[Question] The Soviet police detectives we see in the movies and on television have a highly professional grasp on the latest police technology. How true is this of the republic's detectives?

[Answer] I can say that 80 percent of crimes committed in the republic are solved with scientific and technical resources. Competent, highly professional actions by associates of the criminal investigation administration of the Ministry of Internal Affairs and of the Alamedinskiy Rayon's internal affairs organ and precise utilization of the results of expert criminological analysis made it possible to quickly solve the murder of two girls in Tash-Moynok on 12 October. The republic has created a procedure for conducting expert analysis in drug-related cases that is the most sophisticated within the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs. For example a well-known method developed by Professor Gerasimov is used to identify a corpse on the basis of the features of the skull. What we have now are not just examples but a tested procedure for restoring all kinds of obliterated texts.

#### Leningrad Official

18000131c Leningrad LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA  
in Russian 10 Nov 87 p 3

[Interview with Lt Gen A. A. Kurkov, chief of the Main Internal Affairs Administration of the Leningrad Oblast City Executive Committee by correspondent I. Lisochnik: "On Routine Days and Holidays"; date and place not specified]

[Excerpts] Soviet Militia Day, which is being celebrated today, falls on a memorable date. On 10 November 1917, on the third day after the victory of Great October, Petrograd's telegraph sets transmitted a decree of the

peoples commissar for internal affairs: The soviets of workers and soldiers deputies were establishing a workers militia. And it has now been seven decades that internal affairs organs have been serving the cause of October, the Soviet people and the Communist Party.

On the eve of the anniversary our correspondent I. Lisochnik interviewed Lieutenant General A. A. Kurkov, chief of the Main Internal Affairs Administration of the Leningrad Oblast City Executive Committee.

[Question] What is most typical of today's Leningrad militia? Where is the inspiration coming from today?

[Answer] It would not be hard to predict the answer. It can be given in a single word—restructuring. Consequently we are constantly posing the same question to ourselves: Is there any evidence that the militia is being restructured? Let us look at the changes that have occurred in our midst in recent times.

First of all—and this is very important—we have achieved a real picture—or would it be better to say as real a one as possible—of law and order in Leningrad and the oblast. Departmental inspections, as well as inspections carried out by the procurator's office, are revealing cases of concealing or failing to register crimes more and more rarely. The same can also be said for attempts by certain executives to embellish the results of the work of their subdivisions.

There is one other conspicuous phenomenon: Personnel have started following requirements of the law more strictly in administrative, investigative and operational work. This is evidenced by letters sent to the administration by Leningrad's citizens. This is already the second year that the number of complaints has been decreasing, including repeat complaints. Fewer are being submitted from party and soviet organs and from the mass media. Considering the unique features of the work, this is an objective indicator which we can use to evaluate the changes that have occurred in our reality.

[Question] But while good things have happened, is there also not a darker side to things?

[Answer] Of course. Even today, on a holiday, I do not feel it possible to remain silent on the pages of LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA about some facts that do little for our image. Yes, it is unfortunate but we are forced to deal with unworthy and sometimes even criminal behavior on the part of some of our associates. Cases of unjustified refusals to institute criminal proceedings, of falsifying the materials of inquiries and investigations, and of unjustified detention of citizens still occur. Complaints of the roughness and callousness of militia workers, and of their passiveness and indifference still exist.

We reveal the larger part of such cases ourselves, while the rest become known to us from representations made by the procurator's office, from particular decisions of

the courts and from letters sent in by laborers. In each case we conduct official investigations and take the corresponding steps, going as far as firing the offenders and subjecting them to criminal punishment.

The fact that such cases are becoming increasingly rarer indicates that we are on the right path.

We believe that our task today is to make sure that the personnel would work truly conscientiously, honestly and selflessly, in the best traditions of the Leningrad militia. For this to happen, a spirit of exactingness, of uncompromising condemnation of all violations of the law and of party and professional ethics must reign in the collectives.

[Question] What is the situation with crime and law violations in Leningrad and the oblast?

[Answer] In my opinion many law enforcement tasks are being carried out better and more reliably than in previous years: The total number of all crimes, including serious ones, registered this year was lower. The number of dangerous crimes such as murder, rape, robbery, assault and burglary (including from apartments) has decreased. In general order is being maintained reliably in the streets and public places.

But at the same time we are seriously troubled by the number of motor vehicle thefts, which are not decreasing, and by juvenile crime. Many crimes are still being committed by repeat offenders and unemployed individuals. We are also concerned by what is called domestic crime: Many cases of murder, vandalism and bodily injury occur at home, and drinking is involved as a rule.

All of this says that law enforcement organs, including the militia, still have serious work to do in order to improve order in Leningrad and the oblast.

The fight against the social evil of drunkenness continues to be an urgent issue.

Today, in the conditions of broad democratization of life, the rate of which is continually increasing, completely new phenomena that also deserve higher attention are arising. A network of various sorts of cooperatives is arising to satisfy the diverse needs of Leningrad's citizens. This is a good and promising venture. But we are obligated to do everything we can to keep self-seekers, speculators and lovers of unearned income from taking advantage of the system.

Let us consider the various amateur and other associations appealing to specific interests. The bulk of them are doing necessary and useful work by expanding our spiritual sphere. But at the same time it is obvious that some of these associations contain people who are trying to capitalize on glasnost for their own mercenary interests, ones incompatible with the interests of society. I think that they must not be tolerated.

Democracy does not mean that you can do anything you want. On the contrary, the restructuring effort requires each of us to display maximum organization and discipline. The need for improving order and reinforcing the legal basis of statehood is an idea that runs consistently through decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress and subsequent plenums of the CPSU Central Committee. This same idea was proclaimed in a report by CPSU Central Committee General Secretary M. S. Gorbachev on 2 November at a solemn meeting in Moscow dedicated to the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

[Question] As with other law enforcement organs, the militia is now working in the conditions of glasnost. One can be persuaded of this simply by looking through the newspapers, listening to the radio and watching television. In your opinion, how useful is glasnost? Does it not create certain difficulties for you?

[Answer] No, it does not. Although our consciousness is not being restructured as quickly as we would wish, you will no longer find a person in the militia who would dispute the need for glasnost. Such people no longer exist.

To us, openness and glasnost are not only a rule of social life. The changes glasnost is making in our work are quite readily evident to us. There are many different aspects here. Now that prohibitions are being removed from various topics and issues, some of which have been "closed" to public opinion completely unjustifiably, the civic activity of the public is rising and law awareness is developing. In the new conditions, it is much more difficult for, for example, a repulsive phenomenon such as bribery to exist. Embezzlers and negligent managers responsible for misappropriation of public wealth are feeling more and more uncomfortable.

In the conditions of glasnost, it has also become much harder for us to work poorly and passively. Reports by our associates to labor collectives and criticism carried in the newspapers, radio and television are all good stimulators of accelerating restructuring in the work of the militia.

We are not experiencing any kind of serious difficulties in this sense. As you know, the Main Internal Affairs Administration maintains constant ties with the mass media, and monthly "big" briefings and weekly "small" briefings are conducted in the main administration in a business-like and constructive atmosphere.

[Question] Analysis of letters to the editor leads to one curious conclusion. Leningrad's citizens feel that informing the public on the actions of law enforcement organs is a form of trust. Sometimes this information is very sensitive, but no one fears that people will make the wrong conclusions from it. The readers value this. However, the mail also contains the opinions of persons opposed to such openness. Some feel that "the militia is

shifting its work to the shoulders of the public," that appeals from the Main Internal Affairs Administration are "creating a society of informers." Such letters are few in number, but I would like you to answer them as well.

[Answer] Such letters mean that we are still not providing enough information about the work of the militia. Because if we look at what is really going on, there could even be no discussion of "shifting the work." Appeals to the public do not constrain undercover investigations, and they do not diminish the responsibility of those doing this work in the slightest. Whether or not we get help from the public, we are still obligated to catch and neutralize the criminal. By the way, a couple of years ago you asked me approximately the same question in a newspaper interview: "Who should catch swindlers?" I responded then quite categorically: "Each should mind his own business—that is, swindlers and crimes are the business of the militia."

Now about "stimulating a society of informers." Let me cite just one example—one which I have already used in one of my appearances before the citizens of Leningrad.

Some time ago a number of crimes that elicited a great deal of talk and rumors were committed in the city. An unidentified criminal was breaking into apartments, raping underage girls and then murdering them. Expert examination revealed that this was the work of a single individual. The most energetic steps were taken during the criminal investigation to find the criminal. There was no rest for the weary. It seemed that everything that could be done was being done, but the identify of the criminal eluded us. The tension was considerable. We knew that the criminal might strike again, and that while we were looking for him he was possibly selecting yet another victim. Where? When?

One clue attracted our attention: The criminal had stolen a six-volume edition of "Thousand and One Nights," published in Dushanbe, from one of the apartments. After some discussion we decided to appeal to the citizens of Leningrad for any information on anyone who may have recently acquired these books.

How many books like these are there in Leningrad? The duty section of the Main Internal Affairs Administration received over 500 phone calls. Of course, none of the callers knew the reason for our request, but they understood that it involved an extremely serious matter. The conversations were very open. The people identified themselves, reported the number they were calling from and described the circumstances under which they acquired the books. In the end our plan came through for us. A certain lady in Leningrad had seen the six-volume edition in a used bookstore and telephoned the duty section. This was the very copy we were seeking. After that it did not take much effort to find the suspect. He was arrested. The investigation was completed. Now follows the court examination, and his sentencing will put an end to the affair.

Let us think about this story. Can there be any discussion here of a "society of informers"? I am certain there can't. I think that any citizen who stumbles upon a crime would experience a sensation of social danger. After all, any house, any family may suffer irreparable harm. We are talking about human life. And if a person could have prevented a serious crime but did nothing, he could hardly live with his conscience.

Let me emphasize this specially: To help us or not is a decision that each individual must make on the basis of his own civic-mindedness.

**Tajik Minister**

*18000131d Dushanbe KOMMUNIST  
TADZHIKISTANA in Russian 10 Nov 87 p 3*

[Article by Tajik SSR Minister of Internal Affairs K. Pulatov: "Keepers of the Peace"]

[Excerpts] Unfortunately criminal transgressions upon the peoples wealth—embezzlement, bribery, extortion, speculation—are still widespread. So-called "spongers" and other parasitic elements are doing significant harm to the republic's economy. Groups of embezzlers and confidence men doing enormous damage to the state and the society have been exposed and subjected to criminal punishment in recent years. Decisive eradication of this abnormal phenomenon is the dominant direction of the party's policy directed at improving and purifying the society's moral atmosphere.

The party's course toward better organization, tighter discipline and order presupposes increasing the efforts to eradicate drunkenness and alcoholism. Qualitative changes in public opinion and in the psychology of citizens have made this possible. The need for a sober way of life is being recognized to an increasingly greater extent. But concurrently drunkenness is still widespread, and the nutrient medium of lawbreakers is still around, especially in personal affairs. Almost every other crime against individuals is committed in the republic in a state of alcoholic intoxication. Hundreds of traffic accidents involving human victims occur under the influence of alcohol.

Some people are trying to capitalize on the reduction and reorganization of alcohol sales in order to extract unearned income. Cases of speculation with alcohol and moonshining evoke the natural displeasure and perturbation of the public. This year 450 persons were subjected to criminal and administrative punishment for such activities. This evokes serious alarm and concern, and it insistently argues for an increase in the efforts of the militia and the entire public in the fight against drunkenness, moonshining and associated negative phenomena.

The fight against drug addiction is assuming increasingly larger scope in the republic with the active participation of state and public organs and wide segments of the

population. This year hundreds of illegal plantations of opium poppies and marijuana were revealed. Several dozen drug manufacturers and dealers were exposed. More than 100 kilograms of drugs and raw materials for their preparation were confiscated from them. This is almost half a million rubles in black market prices.

The absolute majority of persons subjected to criminal punishment and placed on record for storage and use of narcotics are up to 30 years old, and many of them are juveniles. On one hand the drug addict is a potential criminal, while on the other hand he is a person with an illness that is hard to cure. Victory over this evil depends on unity of judgment and actions of the family, the school, labor collectives, the entire public and law enforcement organs.

At the same time we have to be concerned about the crime rate. Crimes against the individual and against the property rights of citizens and vandalism are decreasing too slowly. In recent years we have encountered negative phenomena which were not typical in former times—the spread of pornography, prostitution, fartsovka [translation unknown] and maintenance of drug hangouts. We are especially alarmed by violations committed on the soil of religious and other vestiges of the past, by offenses against the rights of citizens, especially women, by the payment and receipt of bride-money and by forced marriages. Frequently they even become causes of suicide.

All of this obligates internal affairs organs to make a deeper study of the causes of negative phenomena and processes in certain population groups, and to participate together with other state organs and public organizations in communist and, especially, atheistic and patriotic education of laborers and in improving the legal knowledge of the entire public.

#### **Uzbek Official**

*18000131e Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian  
10 Nov 87 p 3*

[Article by Maj Gen E. Didorenko, Uzbek SSR first deputy minister of internal affairs: "You Can Rely on Us"]

[Text] Each summarized the events of the first of November—just another day in the life of the country and the republic—in his own way. It was also just another day for internal affairs organs. But just imagine how much agitation and trouble the day held. Around 70 crimes were solved in the republic. A number of dangerous criminals were revealed, including two who murdered a driver and seized his car.

Hundreds of operational investigation groups and militia details visited the scenes of crimes. They caught lawbreakers, settled disputes, including family disputes, put out one fire and found a missing person.

These are but the statistics of militia work. The figures stand for hard labor by the keepers of the public peace, for risk, for patience and for many other qualities adding up to professionalism, without which we would be unable to justify the trust of the people.

Let me cite one more figure from last year's report. Workers of the republic's militia confiscated more than 6,000 firearms. In one case it was a hunter's shotgun that was going to be used to settle accounts in a family scandal. In another case it took a large number of militia workers a long time to implement a complex of investigative and operational measures in order to find a hiding place for a pistol used for criminal purposes.

None of these 6,000 firearms will ever cause harm again. It is for the sake of this that people in the militia risked their lives.

The routine and the heroic always coexist in the work of a soldier of law and order. When it comes time to meet one-on-one with danger, a real militiaman does not flinch. This is confirmed not only by the figures I presented above, but also by the entire chronicle of the militia service.

The workers and peasants militia assumed its post on the third day after the Great October Socialist Revolution. And it has now served faithfully for 70 years.

The history of public peace organs would be incomplete without mentioning the heroic work of the Central Asian militia and internal affairs organs of Uzbekistan.

Every stage in the development of the Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic has been marked by the valor and acts of heroism of militia workers who gave their lives in the defense of the republic's interests and of the security of citizens and their property.

One day in March 1929 the militia engaged in a savage fire fight with basmatch elements in Alikhansay, Narynskiy Rayon. Khaydar Kuchkarov, the first chief of this rayon's militia, died while pursuing the bandits. His funeral transformed into a demonstration of the people's anger against basmatch elements.

Blood has reddened hundreds of militia uniforms in different situations.

Militia workers displayed valor and self-sacrifice during earthquakes in Tashkent, Gazli and Bukhara, and in other natural disasters. During the days of tragedy they maintained public order and protected socialist property around the clock.

Continuity of combat traditions is a characteristic trait of the Soviet militia.

Last year 52 workers of the republic's internal affairs organs were awarded medals and 18 were awarded orders for valor and bravery displayed in the performance of official duties. This year ukases announced presentation of medals to 40 persons and the Order of the Red Star to 9. Two of them received their awards posthumously.

You can now understand what most people who wear militia shoulder boards are like. Most of them. But facts of a different order are known as well. They can also be expressed with some figures.

After the 21st Congress of the Uzbekistan Communist Party made its principled assessment of abnormal phenomena occurring in the republic, including in the militia, over 300 associates who had compromised themselves were fired from internal affairs organs. Some of them were subjected to criminal proceedings and convicted.

What were they guilty of before the people? Of corruption, of associating with the criminal world, of betraying the interests of the service, and of greed. Both the rank and file and the upper levels of management displayed political immaturity. Principled workers devoted to the people and party were publicly dishonored. And on the other hand rascals seeking personal gain and profit in militia work were promoted.

The bitter experience has taught many of us, and we are learning political lessons from it. The republic's internal affairs organs are now attending an important school of state work and professional maturity under the guidance of the Uzbekistan Communist Party Central Committee. We are restructuring our style. We have intensified our organizational work. The administration has been reduced by 20 percent. On the other hand the size of the force at the city and rayon levels has been increased.

The personnel have undergone certification everywhere. Around 200 experienced officers devoted to duty were transferred to various executive posts from the RSFSR, the Ukraine and Belorussia at the direction of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs. A large group of young specialists were sent to Uzbekistan from the leading institutions of higher education of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs. Working energetically with no thought to personal time, the overwhelming majority are making their contribution to correcting the negative consequences and failures in the work of the militia.

Measures to raise the occupational proficiency of the workers of all services have been implemented. Over 10,000 associates underwent retraining in advanced training courses in 1985-1987. Around 2,000 served apprenticeships in the best internal affairs organs of other union republics. This is the way the specific-purpose "Personnel" program is being implemented.

What have people enriched with new knowledge been able to do? The ministry's criminal investigation administration has exposed several criminal groups. As a result of greater operational, investigative and preventive measures in the fight against drugs, more than 120 hectares of illegal plantations of narcotic crops were revealed, and 976 kilograms of hashish and 31 kilograms of opium were confiscated last year and this year. In a little more than the last two and a half years over 43 million rubles plundered by embezzlers of socialist property were returned to the state.

But the positive changes that have occurred do not satisfy us. We are searching for new forms of work, and restructuring certain organizational units. Thus a new subdivision was formed under the criminal investigation administration of the Ministry of Internal Affairs to fight dangerous manifestations of group crime. Such subdivisions have appeared in other places as well.

In spring of this year Tashkent's Internal Affairs Administration organized a so-called "Bureau of Misfortunes." Any citizen can dial 33-38-14 and request information on the fate of a missing relative.

The ministry is implementing fundamental measures to prevent residential burglaries. The fight against this form of crime remains an acute problem. We are being justly reproached by citizens.

Party and soviet organs are showing interest in our work and supporting us. The soviets are taking steps to reduce personnel turnover in local agencies by creating appropriate housing conditions. We are enjoying the full support of executives of the Tashkent City Executive Committee in these matters. But this cannot be said of executives of the city of Navoi, where nothing has been done to provide for the needs of 20 graduates of the Volgograd School for Investigative Work of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, assigned to the Internal Affairs Administration of the Navoi Oblast Executive Committee over a year ago.

Everyone is eager to make demands on the militia worker, but as we can see, not everyone is in a hurry to show concern for him.

Sensitivity, attention and concern are also needed a great deal right now because the ranks of the militia are constantly being replenished by novices. Just this year alone 700 communists and the best representatives of labor collectives donned our uniform.

Our party ranks are growing, and our ties with the people are growing stronger. The size of the militia force has exceeded half a million persons. Intolerance of all kinds of negative phenomena—especially drunkenness, drug abuse, parasitism, prostitution, embezzlement and bribery—has risen. Preventive councils of labor collectives, comrades courts, Makhallin committees and juvenile

affairs commissions of the executive committees of local soviets of peoples deputies are providing considerable aid to us in the fight against these abnormal phenomena.

The forms of their assistance are multifaceted. Sponsorship, education, discussion of lawbreakers. This disinterested work by the public is producing positive results. In 9 months of this year more than 20,000 rehabilitated individuals were stricken from the probation lists of the internal affairs organs.

New ways of strengthening the militia's ties with the public are being sought. For example law enforcement organs of Bukhara Oblast conduct regular crime prevention days at enterprises and in institutions and organizations. Analysis of public opinion of the militia's work is also organized well here. In September of this year the governing board of the Uzbek SSR Ministry of Internal Affairs approved the experience of interaction of labor collectives, public formations and the militia, accumulated in Chustskiy Rayon, Namangan Oblast, and recommended it for introduction into other regions of the republic.

Prevention of violations by juveniles has been and continues to be a subject of special attention. The efforts of 1,122 juvenile affairs inspection offices operating on the basis of public support have been directed at crime prevention. Over 10,000 sponsors, public educators and unofficial inspectors are participating in individual work with adolescents. As a result of their joint effort with the militia 4,200 juvenile delinquents have planted their feet firmly on the road of rehabilitation.

The work of the modern militiaman is multifaceted. Scientific and technical support to operational and investigative activities is growing increasingly larger in scale. New types of equipment are becoming available. Technical criminological investigations of traffic accidents and of crimes committed under the influence of alcohol and drugs are producing better results.

Communication resources, computers, various diagnostic instruments, different levels of security systems and fire protection and extinguishing resources are being used in the fight against crime.

The militia is 70 years old. Born in the October Revolution, it has traveled a difficult path and matured together with the rest of the country during these decades. Always devoted to the people, the Soviet militia has firmly defended and continues to defend their interests.

11004

#### **USSR Supreme Court Plenum Examines Appeals Procedures**

*18000189 Moscow NEDELYA in Russian No 1,  
3-10 Jan 88p 7*

[Report by V. Vodolazhskiy and V. Gatov: "The Moment of Justice: Three Days at the USSR Supreme Court Plenum"]

[Text] The solemn, stately-designed building is located on Vorovskaya Ulitsa in Moscow. A row of heavy gray columns somehow emphasizes its imposing appearance. The great windows on the second floor are lit up until late at night. The door, hidden in the recess of the entryway, quietly opens just enough to admit people. Above the door is inscribed in golden letters, "Supreme Court of the Union of SSR"...

The significance of the activity of the Supreme Court does not end with specific decisions on specific cases; for judges throughout the land pay heed to every word uttered within this building.

Every three months, at the Supreme Court Plenum, the members of the USSR Supreme Court and the 15 chairmen of the union republic supreme courts—who are members of the USSR Supreme Court by virtue of their positions—take their places in the oval turquoise hall in order to examine the most urgent questions of judicial practice, determine policy for courts in applying the law, and examine objections by the Chairman of the USSR Supreme Court and the Procurator General on specific cases—complex cases of the greatest asymmetry.

#### **DAY ONE**

Next to the rostrum, behind the head table, sits Chairman of the USSR Supreme Court Vladimir Ivanovich Terebilov. On his right is USSR Procurator General Aleksandr Mikhaylovich Rekunkov; on his left, Deputy Minister of Justice Vladimir Timofeyevich Gubarev.

**10:00 AM.** On the agenda is the question, "On Judicial Practice in Cases of Pilferage of Narcotic Substances, and On the Illegal Manufacture, Distribution and Other Unlawful Activities Connected with Narcotic Substances, Strong and Toxic Agents" (The judicial lexicon is dry and laconic).

Today, when the veil of secrecy is being lifted from this complex problem, which at times takes a tragic turn, we are only beginning to realize the scope of the disaster. Among the main causes which are giving rise to alarm, the Plenum noted, are "the spread of addiction to narcotics and toxic substances among juveniles and young people; the increase in lawbreaking connected with the manufacture of narcotic substances by amateur methods, and the theft of prescription medicines from pharmacies, warehouses, and medical institutions."

In his report, First Deputy Chairman of the USSR Supreme Court Sergey Ivanovich Gusev placed special emphasis on the fact that many courts do not as a rule attempt to disclose the channels and means of acquiring narcotics (or more precisely, do not require this of the investigation and inquest authorities), even if the case concerns enticing juveniles to narcotics addiction. The plenum indicated the necessity for a strict, judicially-approved approach to exposure of the sources of this

plague, and demanded the mandatory prosecution of those who are fattening themselves at the expense of our future, by destroying our young people with narcotics.

The dialogue on the first day dealt with yet another social evil. Raymond Kazimirovich Brize, a member of the USSR Supreme Court, presented to the Plenum participants a draft for legal guidance and interpretation on the question of serious shortcomings in the court's failure to carry out the law stipulating confiscation of equipment in cases of distilling illegal liquor.

The figures cited in the document are alarming: today instances of home distilling have risen by a factor of 2.5 in comparison with the previous year, and by a factor of six in comparison with 1984. This alone should cause one to think: Are we not showing excessive tolerance toward those poisoners? But in the final analysis the question of their liability is decided by the court, and it is namely the judges who select the type of punishment. Quite often the servants of justice see no danger in the activities of "home brewers" to the extent that would permit applying the confiscation of their property. (Moreover, confiscation is not being prescribed even when it the law makes it mandatory.) And so the violator, having served out his term of punishment, once again starts up his illegal business, since he possesses, so to speak, the "initial capital"...

Here at the USSR Supreme Court, one quite often hears the term, "Guidance and Explanation of the Plenum." What do these words signify? Questions of legal practice and statistical analysis are, as a rule, summarized by the Plenum of the Supreme Court for one single purpose—to guide this practice into the channel stipulated by the law. You see, a particular judge, when examining this or that case, decides the question of the liability of the accused not only on the basis of the documents in the case, but also on the basis of personal feelings and personal experience—or, as it is often put, on the basis of one's "inner convictions." Sometimes this inner conviction goes contrary to the law, and sometimes it allows the use of a sadly well-known principle—"There are always loopholes in the law." In order not to prevail on the sympathy and antipathy of the judges, the influence of the local authorities, or the fleeting desires of someone or other, the Supreme Court Plenum also adopts decrees which explain the essence of the law, and which define the proper and precise character of its application.

## DAY TWO

**23 December**, the morning session. The members of the Plenum take their seats. At once a tense working atmosphere prevails in the hall. The first question is a discussion of the activity of military tribunals of the Trans-Baykal Military District on carrying out the decree of the USSR Supreme Soviet Plenum, "On Further Strengthening Legality While Administering the Law."

It seemed to be a traditional report—the account of Military Tribunal Chairman V. Reznichenko—on the practices of military courts in his district; but it provided the occasion for a serious dialogue on life in today's army: on the problems which commanders must confront; on negative phenomena which had accumulated in the years of stagnation, and which we are now trying to overcome...

Next, the Chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the country's Procurator General brought up objections on specific cases for examination by the Plenum.

An objection by the Chairman of the USSR Supreme Court is heard, on the case of Citizen V. Citizen V. was convicted by Court X in accordance with such-and-such statute of the RSFSR Criminal Code... As a rule, the member of the Supreme Court which studied the case begins his report with these words; the sentence was sustained without amendment by all succeeding judicial levels...

Becoming involved in unjust, and at times illegal decisions by lower courts, establishing the truth, clarifying the formulation in accordance with which society holds a person liable—all these are extraordinarily important, for behind the decisions of the Supreme Court stands Fate...

As a rule only the most complex and the most difficult cases make their way to the Plenum, those which require the greatest experience and profound professional competence.

Almost all objections on cases of "the present day" give rise to ardent disputations. In the final analysis, even judges of the highest rank are people, with their characteristic feelings of professional pride and vulnerability, when their previously-reached decisions are overturned. You see for any judge, a sentence or the decision of the court under his chairmanship—is the end product of his work; moreover, work which is especially responsible, the results of which entail far-reaching consequences. There are moments of fierce disputation at the Plenum, when the case requires it; brilliant speeches and commentary are also heard (go ahead, take them and print them); there are also unconvincing attempts of the opposite nature. After hearing the objection, the opinion of the Plenum participants, and the conclusion of the Procurator General, the presiding judge puts the question to a vote. Seldom does it show unanimity of the members of the Plenum—at the session being described here it happened that the fate of one objection (And at the same time the fate of three persons!) was decided by only three "yes" votes.

There are instances when the Plenum does not sustain the objection or changes its formulation or proposition... And that is what happened with the objection of the USSR Procurator General on the cases of V. Yakovlev and V. Pasternak, who committed assault and robbery,

during which a person was killed. After breaking into the dwelling, they tied up the master of the house and gagged him. After awhile he died of suffocation. In his objection, the procurator general made the point that the criminals did not plan on murder. But the Plenum did not sustain the objection. The actions of the perpetrators were cold-blooded and cruel: after the murder of the master of the house they tortured the wife and demanded that she show them everything of value in the house. The members of the judicial forum, in addition, took into consideration the fact that in making use of the gag, the criminals must have known the consequences. The sentence of the Lvov Oblast court was upheld without changes. The Plenum, It is true, remanded Yakovlev's death sentence to 15 years incarceration. But Pasternak's sentence (10 years incarceration) remained unchanged.

Our attention was also attracted by the objection of the USSR Procurator General on the case of A. Griboanova and S. Nevyadomskaya, who were convicted of murder early last year by the Moscow City Court. NEDELYA (No 10, 1987), in its court essay, "A Fictitious Marriage and a Funeral Dress," told of this instance: S. Nevyadomskaya, a resident of Ordzhonikidze, having registered a fictitious marriage with Mikhaylov in order to be registered at his residence in Moscow, later poisoned him with a mixture of methyl and ethyl alcohol, with the help of her friend, V. Griboanova... The judicial board on criminal matters of the Russian Federation Supreme Court at the time considered the sentence unconvincing, inasmuch as it was constructed on contradictory and inadequately investigated materials, overturned the verdict and returned the case for further investigation. The Presidium of the RSFSR Supreme Court left unresolved the objection to this decision by the USSR Deputy Procurator General, who raised the question of overturning the decision to the discretion of the board. The USSR Procurator General transferred the matter to the Plenum of the USSR Supreme Court. The members of the Plenum carefully and scrupulously investigated the case and subjected both the sentence as well as the subsequent court decisions to severe scrutiny, came to the firm conclusion that the case was not investigated properly, and overturned the objection. The case was returned for a new investigation.

### DAY THREE

The evening session began in a not altogether ordinary way—with congratulations. Vladimir Ivanovich Terebillov informed the Plenum that the chairman of the judicial collegium on criminal affairs, Aleksandr Mikhaylovich Filatov, was elected Deputy Chairman of the USSR Supreme Court. At the conclusion of the session we congratulated Aleksandr Mikhaylovich and took advantage of the opportunity to ask him several questions.

[Question] Can you single out anything that is characteristic of this particular Plenum?

[Answer] Both in form and in content it is significantly different from past plenums: first of all, in the posing and the discussion of the problems which concern not only jurists, but also the public at large. I have in mind the adoption of two guiding explanations—on judicial practice in cases of pilferage of narcotic substances...and, of course, on the serious shortcomings in the courts' carrying out the law which stipulates confiscation of property in cases of home distilling.

Incidentally, in examining the question of home-distillers, we explained to the courts that it is not compulsory at all to deprive the malicious violators of their freedom—it is more sensible to apply measures of economic influence on them: fine them and confiscate their property... After all, according to the law they may be fined up to 500 rubles. But in studying this question it turned out that for the country as a whole (in the first six months of the past year) the average fine for such crimes were in the range of 160-170 rubles—which, undoubtedly, had an influence on the effectiveness of the struggle with the home brewers.

And still another example from the Plenum: there has been a noticeable increase in the number of objections brought before the court, and their content has changed somewhat. Whereas at the Plenum at the same time last year we considered 10-12 objections on common cases, this year we considered 35! And the categories of the cases, as you heard yourself, vary widely.

[Question] Aleksandr Mikhaylovich, at this Plenum there were, in particular, objections heard on the case of V. Bukhvalov, former director of the Kalibr Plant in Moscow, and that of R. Khobdabergenov, supervisor of an enterprise in Kazakhstan, who were accused of embezzlement of state funds, and of upward distortion of figures. Upon the objection of the Chairman of the Supreme Soviet the accusations against them were requalified and defined as abuse of their official position... The punitive measures were reduced accordingly. But does this not therefore encourage malicious exaggeration of figures, distortion of state accountability, and doing things for show?

[Answer] The Plenum has truly changed its attitude toward this category of cases (Ordinarily they are brought against enterprise administrators, chief engineers, or bookkeepers—that is, the people who sign documents of state accountability), but not to the detriment of justice. We shall as before continue to wage the most decisive struggle with this. Alas, yet extremely widespread evil. But in the given specific cases, the members of the Plenum believed that there were no signs of embezzlement or pilferage of state or public property in the activities of the directors; that is, turning it to their own benefit. In abusing their official position, having distorted the figures upwards and having paid premiums to the plant workers, the administrators were striving to create the appearance of well-being at their enterprises,

which actually was not the case. The judges considered all the circumstances and punished Bukhvalov and Khobdabergenov in accordance with the law.

[Question] Is it fair in this connection to speak of some kind of strategy of a humane approach by the Plenum to the examination of objections?

[Answer] Certainly. But I would have called it not a strategy, but a tendency, connected with the perestroika taking place in the work of our law-enforcement organs.

Yes, recently the courts have changed the approach to prescribing punishment. First of all, they have begun to make wider use of measures not connected with deprivation of freedom. Presently, for example, second place in the punitive system is given to corrective labor without loss of freedom (20 percent), and approximately the same percentage for fines. For comparison, I would point out that two years ago fines amounted to only 4.0-5.0 percent in this system.

But I stress once again: this does not at all mean that the courts are forgiving everyone and everything.

[Question] It is well known that the Plenum of the Supreme Court also considers cases connected with the rehabilitation of people unjustly arrested during the times of the Stalin personality cult. What are the "mechanics" for the appearance and examination of such objections?

[Answer] Over a period of many years, I do not think there has been a single session of the Plenum at which such objections have not appeared. I do not exclude the present session, which considered the cases of persons unjustly arrested and condemned for antisoviet activity in the years 1937-1938. We have not encountered special difficulty in the examinations. In familiarizing oneself with the materials on the accusations of the "enemies of the people" one often sees that the people either incriminated themselves or were condemned on the basis of slander, or on false testimony. It goes without saying that the Procuracy of the USSR will conduct, if necessary, careful additional checks, and the new materials will be brought to the Plenum of the Supreme Court. Proceeding from the aggregate of all the facts and the materials, the Plenum will deliver the appropriate decision. As a rule the people are rehabilitated.

You asked how these objections appear. First of all, upon complaints to the court and to the procuracy and other organs by the unjustly condemned themselves, or upon appeal by their relatives and those close to them. The Supreme Court itself regularly obtains such cases on demand and subjects them to careful scrutiny.

I am convinced that this is our official and our moral duty, and we shall carry on this work until everyone who was unjustly convicted, at any period of time, is rehabilitated.

It is written in the USSR Law "On the USSR Supreme Court" that, "Guiding explanations from the Plenum of the USSR Supreme Court are mandatory for the courts and for other organs and responsible officials who apply the law..." But they are just as binding on us as well—for everyone, as the moral standard, and as the criterion for our actions.

09006

#### **Moscow Officials Discuss Return of Amnestied Prisoners**

18120051 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 51, 27 Dec 87-3 Jan 88 p 12

[Article by Natalya Davydova]

[Text] How may Muscovites were pardoned and returned home? How many cases were stopped in connection with the Decree of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet of June 18 on amnesty? The answers to these questions were given at a briefing given at the Main Administration of Internal Affairs of the Executive Committee of the Moscow City Soviet, at which journalists from abroad were also present.

Mercy should not bring bad either to society or to the person who had made a false step in his or her life. This means that the person must restore the broken up social contacts, to find his own place in life and, above all, to have a place to live and a job.

When a person returns from jail, the solution of any of these questions can become a problem. "775 people amnestied where registered in Moscow as residents in ten days' time since they came to the city," said Yevgeny Savin, deputy chief of the Passport Administration. "All told 1,050 people had appealed to us for registration. It is easier when the former prisoner has a family. Only its agreement is necessary to register him. But if the former prisoner is a single person and his housing was given to someone else? Naturally, he or she will be provided with housing. But each such case is considered by the deputies commission of the Moscow City Soviet Executive Committee, and the decision might take some time."

I think, if one has to choose between an amnestied person and a family with a child living in a hostel, the majority of people would favour the latter. But doesn't a person who has experienced the humaneness of the state, have the right to expect the same attitude on the part of public opinion? It was stressed at the briefing that it was desirable and even necessary that all the questions of registration in Moscow would be decided more quickly.

Another question is how soon an amnestied person can find a job. "To render help in this means sometimes to prevent a person from performing another rash deed," noted Viktor Miklyayev, deputy chief of the Administration on Guiding Divisional Inspectors and Public Relations. "It is especially important to help the teen-agers,

even though there are only 30 of them among the amnestied. Moscow has 'quality' enterprises. The commissions for affairs of young offenders usually offer the teen-agers to work in big work collectives.

Of course, a person can go back to his or her old job.

There are quite a few repeated crimes, the journalists were told in answer to the question whether the return of the amnestied influences the growth of crime?

"Over a half of those amnestied," added Vladimir Borshchev, a department chief of the Investigation Administration, "are connected with frauds, black market operations, theft of public and personal property (naturally not in very great amounts) and traffic violations. Pregnant women and women who have children below 18 years of age were amnestied (by the way, previous amnesties were given only to mothers with children below 16), invalids, men older than 60 and women—55, and people who took part in some kind of battle (for the first time not only in the Great Patriotic War, but also before and after it). The total number of amnestied people is not so big in relation to the total number of people convicted for breaking the law.

/9274

### **Moscow News Roundtable Discusses Law on Youth**

*18120060a Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 3, 24-31 Jan 88 p 12*

[Passages in boldface as published]

[Text] "For them" in this case means the youth. But the point at issue below will not be the standard reproaches which people are rather fed up with, but a law pure and simple.

Indeed, the Law on the Youth has not yet been written. Its draft will be published by about the end of the year. For the time being, there is a concept and an approximate structure.

Attempts to adopt a Law on the Youth were made in 1966 and 1977. Their drafts were approved by the chambers of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and yet their opponents proved to be stronger.

The 20th congress of the Young Communist League (YCL) again declared itself in favour of adopting a Law on the Youth. Among its social prerequisites, the initiators see an intensification of social consciousness and enhanced demands on the abilities of young people, the quality of their knowledge, initiative, independent action and a creative approach. But thought should primarily be given not to how much can be "taken" from them and how but what conditions should be provided for the effective realization of their potential.

At present the "youth" legislation includes upwards of 1,500 statutory-legal acts, some of which are outdated, some overlap or contradict one another. So that there is a need to bring order into this legal chaos.

It is, of course, undesirable that as a result the Law should become a kind of legal "reservation" for the youth, or yet another ineffective act proclaimed at the level of a declaration. It is worthwhile raising the legal capabilities of the YCL and enabling it to act as a plaintiff in conflicts linked to violations of the rights of the youth. There is no doubt that the Law should contain norms of direct action and envisage juridical responsibility of administrative personnel for its non-observance. But for the time being, let us repeat, it is at the drafting stage, and in due time public opinion will be able to intervene actively to determine its destiny.

A commission for drafting the Law has been set up at the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet. The YCL has decided to realize its right to legislative initiative and, likewise, has set up its own commission under the chairmanship of Victor Mironenko, First Secretary of the YCL Central Committee.

Laws are usually made by lawyers. In the given case a working group has been set up for this purpose at the Research Centre of the Higher Komsomol School under the auspices of the YCL Central Committee. It consists of specialists on youth problems and is headed by Dzhakhat Polliyeva (27), LLM.

Readers started discussing the Law on the Youth by telephone and in letters to our editorial offices. We decided to continue the conversation. At first in brief street interviews, and then at a round table at which our staff members Andrei VASILYEV and Gennady ZHAVORONKOV met with Fyodor BORETSKY, a pupil of Moscow School No. 47, member of the Alliance non-official group, non-YCLer, 16 years old; Alexei GAIUDUKOV, Secretary of the YCL Committee of Moscow School No. 417, 17 years; Vitaly YERYOMIN, head of the Molodaya Gvardiya teenager club of the 1960s in Pavlodar, now an engineer, 47; Gleb PAVLOVSKY, director of the press centre of non-official youth groups, 36; Gleb CHERNYAVSKY, leader of the Puls Planety political club at the House of Komsomols and Schoolchildren in Moscow's Oktyabrsky District, 21.

From an interview in the street: A Law on the Youth? But isn't there one?

**Chernyavsky:** Personally I see no need to have this Law at all. It is irrational to identify the youth as a peculiar social, economic and political structure in society. A person is 30 years old and he is young, but at 31 he is not? This, I think, is a variant of society's vicious horizontal division into age and social groups. Young

people should have the same rights as everybody else. A person's age is measured not by his passport data, but by the state of his soul. He may be an old man at 25 and a youngster at 50.

**Gaidukov:** I have discussed the question of the Law with secretaries of school YCL organizations in Kalininsky District. We have arrived at the conclusion that the Law will not change anything in the life of the youth if it contains only general phrases about democratization and economic rights. Will it not be more rational at first to introduce some amendments into the Rules of the YCL and into the Rules of the secondary school bearing in mind the requirements of the youth at our age?

Conducting a poll at our school, the YCL Committee came to the conclusion that studies, entertaining in themselves, had become uninteresting, both for pupils and for teachers. Teachers are "pressured" by the curricula and instructions, and we—by the absence of a creative approach. We have decided that our school life must be regulated by a certain body which includes both pupils and teachers. At our school, which has the status of an experimental establishment, I may have business-like relations with the administration. But others? I know dozens of examples of the administration dictating its terms as before to the YCL: "Do only what I tell you to do." How can the Law on the Youth help break such relationships?

Not long ago our YCL Committee submitted a proposal to the Pedagogical Council: cancel home assignments as not wanted and introduce a lecture-exam system for senior-formers. The proposal was accepted. For a whole month we have lived according to the new rules. But after all this is an experiment violating the Rules. Tomorrow it can be terminated on fully "legal" grounds.

**Boretsky:** We need a Law on the Youth—primarily to regulate relationships with the administration. It must be along the lines of a Criminal Code, so that everyone could tell an official: "You violate this or that article of the Law. You ought to be democratic, but you are not."

The Law must be compiled in such a way that one could appeal to it.

**Chernyavsky:** The Law must not be like a Criminal Code. The problems that the youth may have are so concrete and specific that it is simply impossible to envisage them.

As I see it, even today we have many rights, but we either do not know them or are unable to use them. What other rights do the non-official associations of the youth need when there is Article 51 of the Constitution of the USSR?

There is a need for a committee on the affairs of the youth or a dispute committee, to which YCLers and non-YCLers alike could come. There is a need for an organization regulating both rights and obligations of the youth.

**A telephone call to the editorial offices from Sergei Kuznetsov, Secretary of the YCL Committee of Moscow's Specialized School No. 42:** I learned about preparations for the Law from television. This is unnatural. Not only the draft, but even some initial provisions should be discussed on a broad scale and by everyone. Today there are many obstacles in the way of realization of ideas. The Law must shorten the long road from idea to practice.

**Pavlovsky:** I saw the original draft Law proposed by the YCL, and at the Institute of the State and Law I heard objections raised. The draft enumerates all the constitutional rights of Soviet citizens. But everywhere it stipulates that these rights are controlled by the YCL. The result is that young people enjoy constitutional rights with the consent of the YCL. Jurists flatly objected to this and posed the question: who should be considered as the youth? If it is a law under which somebody is going to be held responsible for violations, then the subject should be clearly designated.

**Yeryomin:** I am perhaps least prepared for this discussion. In my pocket I have no clear-cut formulations or revolutionary ideas. But I always remembered Marx's words to the effect that the rights of juveniles must be protected. Some consider them as children, whereas they see themselves as adults. In actual fact, they are almost adults, and their rights must be formalized. But these rights should not be presented to them "on a silver platter." They must achieve them through suffering, they must realize them themselves. The Law should help the youth mature. A juvenile must independently decide whether or not he should join the YCL. This is his personal right. But this is also advantageous for the YCL. It will have only those members who personally support it, who give it their love, who have found in it a place for self-vindication and for the realization of their ideas and plans.

The YCL is not the only form of youth organization. The Law is necessary primarily for those who are outside the boundaries of this league.

Only yesterday or the day before metal-rock fans, hippies and punks were kind of outside the bounds of the law, with sanctions being applied against them as against transgressors of law and order. Unless the new provision formalizes the right to social initiative, tomorrow these associations according to interests could again find themselves outside the bounds of the law. But after all, these are spontaneous collectives in which young boys and girls go through the process of self-education. But so that this influence should not be spontaneous to the end, corresponding points should be written into the Law, such as, for example: the right to social registration in

society, the right to set up a club and receive a premise, the right to collective work which will regulate the financial basis of the association. In the final analysis, the right to have an account in a savings bank or bank.

**From an interview in the street: A Law on the Youth?** We need a law against the youth. They have become undisciplined to the point of disgrace. In our day there was nothing like it (the person refused to be identified).

**Pavlovsky:** I am very much concerned by the fact that a Law not discussed broadly and openly may become just a code of new functions for old departmental structures. No youth organization can exist steadily and conflict-free without its own rights and without being aware of its duties.

Wherever we try to preserve the old we come up against a new source of conflict. That is why the Law on the Youth must recognize the fundamental and juridical equality of the newly established organizations. It is not clear to me why the YCL Central Committee has not considered a proposal from the students of Moscow University's Faculty of Economics who suggest giving up the territorial-production principle of forming their primary organizations. In this case many of the newly founded and being founded associations would simply become branches of the YCL. For instance, clubs according to interests.

**Chernyavsky:** The whole point here, I believe, is that we still refuse to admit the real fact: today joint activities tend to bring people together to a lesser extent than common interests.

The YCL will have to consider this or any other proposal. Because (as it was said in your paper) it is impossible to meet while standing stock-still.

**A phone call to the editorial office:** To enact an effective Law on the Youth, you need to look at the experience of other socialist countries which have long had such laws, and to consider the strong and the weak points of the experience (Nadezhda Volodina, a teacher).

**Gaidukov:** As the experience of history has indicated, quite often reforms coming from above prove unviable. If a law is passed in haste, without taking all the proposals, the remarks and criticisms into account, this can discredit a very good idea.

What is needed is a grass-roots movement as well, so that the Law, as Yeryomin said, should be achieved through suffering, so that it should at first become a norm empirically worked out at all secondary and higher schools and by factory collectives. Only then can this be formalized legislatively. Then it will be taken up with job, with understanding, and the Law will become an effective instrument.

**Yeryomin:** The Law is necessary if only because there is a need to bring many provisions together. I studied all my life at a school with Rules which demanded that I should take off my headdress when meeting elders and bow. To say nothing of the fact that I had no headdress to boast about, I did not know how to bow. Until our school Rules and the provision on non-official associations have been brought into conformity with the Rules of the YCL, all that we have will go to pieces. It's like a machine assembled out of good but unadjusted parts. It will not work.

**Boretsky:** I think that your proposal smacks of idealism. Complete adjustment of the "parts" is unrealistic. An alternative is oiling, which will set in motion the machine assembled from unadjusted parts.

**Yeryomin:** I return the charge of idealism to you. You have set up the Alliance club. I am displeased and am setting up the Mesalliance club just to counter you. Will this be called an alternative? Will this be an onward movement or just an expression of vanity on the part of a definite group of people? All of us want democracy to deepen, but if we move not from above and not from below, but push somewhere from aside, this will only make society irksome.

**Pavlovsky:** Sociologists see as the most dangerous the collectives created according to the "pack" type. Such a collective has no moral responsibility to society...

**Host:** Excuse me, but this is already a theme for our next discussion: "Responsibility of the leader."

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#### **Constraints, Prohibitions on Mass Copying Discussed**

*18000150a Moscow STROITELNAYA GAZETA in  
Russian 12 Nov 87 p 2*

[Article by F. Vladov, engineer: "Broken Circle. We Visit the Bulletin of the All-Union 'Znaniye' Society: *The Scientific and Technical Revolution: Problems and Solutions*"; first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] A blueprint is the start of an construction. But if only there were just one of them. Dozens, hundreds, thousands of blueprints may be required—and are required! Many copies are often needed, and the problem so well known to construction workers arises: where to get a copy? Sometimes it is simpler to build an entire storey than get hold of a blueprint. But why? Electric copying machines long since solved this problem: modern devices make it possible to make numerous copies of documents of virtually any size in a fraction of a second. But still...

At the general meeting of the USSR Academy of Sciences one venerable scientist expressed the thought that it will be difficult to move science until we accept that there is an acute shortage of normal xerox copies. This thought also served as a point of departure for the research that I undertook.

We here are annually producing about 1,000 electric copying machines and several hundred more are purchased from abroad. Japan annually produces 1.5 million to 2 million such machines. The difference, as we see, is extremely significant.

I talked to the chief of Soyuzglavpribor [USSR Gosnab Main Administration for Supplies and Marketing of Instruments], V. Poplavskiy.

"I think," Vladimir Dmitriyevich said, "that copying machines should become a regular working tool for each organizer. We must ask production to make a sharp advance here."

What is hampering this? But perhaps this advance is planned, and in 2 two or three years time the domestic market will really be overloaded with copying machines?

"Unfortunately, no," said V. Zadorozhnyy, deputy chief of the Main Scientific and Technical Administration in the Ministry of Instrument Making, Automation Equipment, and Control Systems (he is responsible for the development and creation of Soviet-made copying equipment).

This means that for a long time we shall still experience the inconvenience when there is need to take a copy of something.

The instructions state that in order to make duplicates all that is needed is permission from a single specified person, who only in special circumstances should involve colleagues in the regular subdivisions. In fact, however, it often needs up to seven signatures to make copies of something!

In other words, we face a typical case of overinsurance.

At present there is a ridiculously small number of duplicating-and-copying centers. And as a rule, they do not fill orders for the public, while fiction is not copied at all.

This means that it is essential to set up these kinds of centers, which could operate on a commercial basis and provide services for all those needing them.

"There is, of course, a shortage of copying equipment," says the above-mentioned V. Poplavskiy, chief of the Soyuzglavpribor and a great enthusiast in favor of setting up collective-use duplicating-and-copying centers, including centers that provide services for the public. "But our acute need for such centers is obvious. Several

years ago we helped to set up the first center in Tallin and equipped it with several machines produced by the Indian firm Rank Xerox. It is part of the Estonian Ministry of Consumer Services and fills orders both for organizations and for the public. Collective-use centers (true, only for organizations) are already operating in Novosibirsk, Lvov and Tyumen, and they are now being organized in Yerevan, Voronezh and other cities."

Perhaps there are serious obstacles that are hampering their creation?

"I do not think so." This suggestion is refuted by chief of a USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs department Col S. Pobedimskiy. "On the contrary, we readily, for example, support this kind of initiative. The militia organs now periodically—several times a year—make inspections of the use of duplicating equipment. And we often find that work is being done 'on the side.' It can be divided into two varieties. First, there is mainly 'gross output' work—commercial work for sale, that is, regular Soviet books and journals whose print runs have been greatly less than the demand for them. Second, there are Western publications, often including ideologically harmful publications, and sometimes simply slanderous materials.

"We of course, try to deal with both varieties, but we are well aware of the difference between them. For in the latter case the struggle is waged mainly against the copying itself, while in the former our aim is to stop people making unearned incomes from state property."

In short, the Ministry of Internal Affairs favors the creation of duplicating-and-copying centers. But there was something of a complication in the Main Administration for the Protection of State Secrets in the Press [Glavlit]. Perhaps the people working there are against it?

"We, against it?" In the USSR Glavlit they were astonished. "But why? We understand quite well that it is a question of copying mainly materials published previously in Soviet publications, that is, publications that cannot reveal state secrets."

And obviously, when several years a request was made to the Estonian Ministry of Consumer Services to allow the Tallin duplicating-and-copying center to do this kind of work, this permission was granted. Similar permission was obtained following a request by the RSFSR Ministry of Consumer Services department handling newspaper and journal clipping service in the Moscow Gorispolkom City Information Office.

In July 1985 the USSR Council of Ministers decree "On Measures To Expand User-Fee Services for the Public Provided by Enterprises and Organizations for Which Provision of Such Services Is Not the Main Activity of Those Enterprises" was published. Obviously, these services include making copies, at the public's request, in organizations possessing duplicating equipment. True,

when I tried to find out if these kinds of services are really provided and asked the managers of several copying section about this, it was explained that these services are not only not provided, but few of them knew about the decree (2 years later!).

Notwithstanding, Glavlit workers did refer to the decree and gave more detail on the earlier instructions on the possibility of copying individual articles, chapters or pages from Soviet and foreign publications that are freely circulated, and also various kinds of service materials and documents (with the agreement of the organizations issuing them), and so forth.

However, in accordance with existing procedure it is forbidden to copy newspapers and journals in their entirety (only parts of them). It is impossible to copy, even in parts, works of fiction. On every copy it is necessary to print a reference to the source, indicating the author, name of publisher, year of issue and page numbers.

Is observance of all these requirements really necessary? For an answer to this is went to the All-Union Agency for the Protection of Authors' Rights [VAAP].

"Of course, these are our requirements." M. Voronkova, chief of the VAAP contracts and legal department agreed. "But some of them are not so very complicated. For example, in order to designate the original publications all that is needed is to attach this to one copy of the title page, which adds only a few seconds to the procedure.

"Other rules have been made mandatory for us, and I hope they will be temporary. Take the ban on duplicating fiction. Imagine that this rule were abolished and, say, 200 duplicating-and-copying centers were taking orders from the public. If each center made just 10 copies of A. Rybakov's "Children of the Arbat," which is today extremely popular, this would come to 2,000 copies! And what would the author get from this?"

"But why is it impossible to make copies and still observe the author's rights?"

"It is possible, of course." Margarita Arkadyevna agreed. "The author's fee would just have to be included in the calculated cost of each page of the book. The cost would obviously be negligible, some tenths of a kopeck for each page. All that is needed is to include an appropriate section in the general document regulating the making of copies. And then, in line with these provisions we would organize all the practical work to pass on the honorarium to the author."

And so, the circle is almost opened. In all the official departments they told me that they would willingly meet them halfway... but meet whom?

"Perhaps the Ministry of Consumer Services would place the order? I asked M. Shatskiy, chief of nonproduction consumer services in the RSFSR Ministry of Consumer Services.

"We would gladly play that role," Mikhail Fedorovich replied. "The more so since we have experience in duplicating written materials in user-fee machine-copying offices."

Well, it was pleasing to hear these words.

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### Tajik Academy Head on Bilingualism, Growing Islamic Extremism

18300133a [Editorial Report] Dushanbe AGITATOR TADZHIKISTANA in Russian No 20, October 1987 carries on pages 10-12 a 1900-word article by M. Asimov, president of the TaSSR Academy of Sciences, on the history of that organization, toward the end of which he focuses on two problem areas within the social sciences, namely bilingualism and religiosity. First, Asimov states, the Academy's research must assist in the successful development of bilingualism, because the failure to develop the role of the Tajik language can result in a "distorted interpretation of reality and lead to a warping of the national consciousness, and finally result in a manifestation of nationalism." Second, he says, "the degree of religiosity not only is not diminishing, but in some places is growing, and Islamic extremism is gathering strength." The TaSSR Academy of Sciences, he continues, must thoroughly investigate the causes of this religious "revival" and work out scientifically-based recommendations.

### Tajik Physician Writes IZVESTIYA Supporting Family Planning

18300145a Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 12 Jan 88 p 3

[Letter to the editors of IZVESTIYA from Akram Davronov, deputy chief physician at Ganchinskiy Central Rayon Hospital, Tajik SSR: "The One Who Raised You"]

[Text] To give life is the great destiny of woman. But this is not all; it is also necessary to raise healthy children. After many years of observation I can say that we have given too little attention in our republic to this important matter. Some parents have a weakened sense of responsibility toward their children's health. And, in my view, the practice of encouraging families with many children and taking into account only the number of children, needs more precise definition.

A young woman of 27 came to see me. She is expecting her eighth child. I know her family well and all of her children. Half of them are weak and underdeveloped. It couldn't be otherwise. In spite of all the persuasion and

warnings of her doctors, the woman did not observe the minimal waiting period necessary for again giving normal birth — approximately 2 years. She talks candidly about not even being able to feed all her children properly, and how from the moment she was married she has been constantly pregnant and cannot imagine herself being otherwise.

What do we doctors recommend? We say seven or eight children for the whole childbearing period. Then the woman will be able to give birth to all of them with normal weight and health, and to give a little attention to each one.

There is another reason for the high infant mortality rate in our republic — frequent marriages between close relatives. This is usually no secret to anyone, and its prohibition, adopted several years ago, is simply ignored. Men marry their second cousins, women their third. And this makes the risk of resulting birth defects considerably greater. As a rule the families arrange these marriages and the village soviet workers look the other way.

I do not think that the money paid to families with many children should be paid right away in full. Let a second part of the sum, even a large part, be paid to the family when the child reaches age 2 or 3. Upon the birth of the

little one let the family receive free children's things, everything that will be necessary to take care of the child. Often it will happen that, having received all the money straight away, the father throws a celebration — a feast for a good hundred guests. Such is the law of hospitality. But then there is nothing left to pay for the child's necessities.

Children unseasonably dressed; a 16-year-old boy not knowing what it means to sleep in night clothing on clean sheets — this is the other side of life for some families with many children.

I anticipate dissatisfaction, harsh reaction; but what good, you may say, is it to discuss this? The conscience of a physician does not allow him to remain unmoved over all this. People have to be taught to plan their families, to leave it at 8 children and not 15, and then they will be healthy and strong. I read some time ago in IZVESTIYA a speech by Professor S. Khakimova, director of the Tajik Scientific Research Institute for Mother and Child Care, and I support what she says about the necessity of creating a family planning service here.

Akram Davronov, deputy chief physician at Ganchinskij Central Rayon Hospital, Tajik SSR

END